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Some Recent Changes in Japanese Village Life

By Arthur F. Raper†

ABSTRACT

As a result of recent reforms in Japan, some important changes are taking place in village life. Ownership of farm land has become much more widespread, farmer cooperatives have replaced the earlier centrally controlled farm organization, the village heads are now elected by popular vote rather than by village assembly, women have been given the ballot, and the public educational system has been improved. Changes at the village level toward more democratic ways of living are of special significance, for the village is the all-important locality and functioning group in Japan, as in most of the Orient.

The land reform program and the establishment of farmer cooperatives have had the greatest effects of all on village life. The land reform, in creating new landowners, increased the number of people who take an active part in village affairs. The village committees through which the land reform program was carried out proved a valuable experience in leadership training for the ex-tenants. The farm cooperatives are affording the farmers, including the new owners, an opportunity to have a larger control than heretofore in the purchase of supplies and in the sale of farm products.

The Japanese village is pervasive and highly institutionalized. The entire land area of the four Japanese Islands is made up of villages—a total of about 10,600. Each village in turn is composed of small autonomous local units, now usually called *buraku;* most of these were once small separate villages. The present village setup came into being about sixty years ago in response to efforts of the central government to achieve a more effective administration of the country.

The Central Place of the Village

The village is the all-important local geographic unit in Japan. Some activities are carried forward on a village-wide basis, and others *buraku* by *buraku.* Each village has a mayor and an assembly, and each *buraku* a selected leader.

In the village hall are kept the register of resident families and the detailed records of land ownership and use. All taxes—local, prefectural (state), and national—are levied and collected at the village hall. The village is also the unit for education, religion, police protection, fire protection, crop collection, rationing, and so on. It is through the village hall that the Nation reaches the Japanese people. The line of power is direct—from Tokyo to the Prefecture (or State) to the village. The 46 Prefectures are grouped into 10 Administrative Regions, and the 10,600 villages are grouped into 621 *guns* (weak county-like administrative areas). Although some routine functions are served by the Administrative Regions and the *guns,* most matters of urgency move swiftly from Tokyo to the Prefecture to the village. To say it another way, the function of the Administrative

† U.S.D.A., Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

Region is to facilitate Tokyo's approach to the Prefectures, and that of the *guns* to speed up the Prefecture's approach to the villages.

Local conditions vary considerably in different parts of the islands in response to different ways of making a living, climatic factors, age of settlement, density of population, and so on; but the villages are essentially the same throughout the islands in their structure and over-all function. The uniformity of village life in Japan is doubtless a product of the country's long periods of isolation from outside contacts.

The village was left intact physically and administratively by the war and the Occupation. Numerous dwellers from bombed cities naturally refugeed to their home villages during the latter stages of the war; also repatriates from Formosa, Manchuria and elsewhere found the villages of their fathers the most readily available place for them to live when they returned to the homeland.

Three other institutions are equally strong in rural Japan, namely, the family, religion, and land ownership. These three, which are entwined, contribute much to the stability of village structure. The family is the basic social unit, and the importance of its continuation and welfare supersedes the rights and privileges of its individual members; religion is all tied up with the maintenance of the family through ancestor worship and festivals centering around farming activities and other economic efforts; land ownership has traditionally been the basis for the economic, social, and religious status of the leading families, and the security of the small owners and non-land owning lesser families has depended largely upon their relationships with the big landed families.[1] It is out of these interrelationships between family, religion, and land that the worship of the Emperor —the representative of Japan's first family—arose, and out of them that the basic patterns of village life emerged and gradually became institutionalized.

Japan is not all rural—about half of the people make a living by farming and fishing—but all segments of life partake of the village in marked degree. Except for downtown business areas, which are quite western in appearance, even the largest cities are essentially clusters of villages, with small farming sections here and there throughout the extended areas of one and two-storied dwellings and shops. Many of the metropolitan districts came into being as the population of one after another of the original small villages expanded until there was generally continuous settlement. The home address of a city dweller usually includes the name of the village-like locality in which he lives. Even the commerce and industry of Japan, which has become great only in recent decades, are fashioned largely

[1] For more details see John C. Pelzel, "Some Social Factors Bearing Upon Japanese Population," *American Sociological Review*, XV, (February, 1950); John F. Embree, *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village* (University of Chicago Press, 1944); and C. B. Sanson, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, (London: Cresset Press, 1932).

along village patterns, with the importance of the family, religion, and feudal-like ownership everywhere evident.

Village Life in Transition

Numerous changes have taken place in the Japanese village in recent years as a result of World War II and the Occupation. It would be difficult to make a complete listing of the changes, and still more difficult to assess the degree of acceptance by the Japanese of Occupation programs and the immediate and long-time meaning of such changes as are taking place.

Among the more universal changes are the marked increase of land ownership by farm operator families, the abolition of the war-time governmentally controlled farmers organization and the setting up instead of farmers' and fishermen's cooperatives, the establishment of junior high schools in a general revision of the educational system, the withdrawal of tax support from religious organizations making them wholly dependent on voluntary contributions, the enlargement of civil rights of individuals under the new Civil Code, the enfranchisement of women, the election of the village mayor by the villagers rather than by the village assembly, and a more democratic way of electing the village assembly.

It is not feasible in this paper to deal with all of the changes mentioned above; time does not permit it; and, more important, trustworthy data are not at hand to discuss some of them. The latter portion of this paper centers around changes which have occurred in response to the agrarian reforms sponsored by the Occupation.

Our studies were made in response to invitations from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. The first report centered around the early administration of the Occupation's agrarian reforms as influenced by rural institutions and rural organization. The second report emphasized the changes which had occurred in the 18 months in response to the application of the land reform law and other agrarian programs.

We made observations in 13 villages, located in each of the four islands, in June-July 1947, and again 18 months later the same villages were revisited, except for one substitution. (See attached map for location of 13 villages, and of Prefectures and Administrative Regions.) The village selection was made to be as representative of village life in Japan as could be arranged, and the number was kept small because we thought that by following this procedure we could secure the most trustworthy findings in the short time at our disposal.

The time element precluded the possibility of the use of elaborate statistical data in selecting the sample, and also in the use of more than a small number of villages. The principal criteria of selection were: type of farming, characteristics of population, degree of urban influence, amount of off-farm employment, extent of feudal survivals, presence or absence of handicrafts, characteristics of ter-

JAPAN, SHOWING LOCATION OF PREFECTURES
AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS,
AND OF THE 13 VILLAGES STUDIED
HOKKAIDO
Ebetsu Mura
Mizuwake Mura
Yokogoshi Mura
TOHOKU
HOKURIKU
HONSHU
Nobuta Mura
CHUBU
(TOSAN)
Karako Mura
KANTO
CHUGOKU
Yoshida Mura
Futomi Mura
Obie Son
Mura
TOKAI
Kawashiro Mura
SHIKOKU
KINKI
Nikaido Mura
KYUSHU
Honami Mura
Aioi Mura
Suye Mura

rain, and geographic location. The single substitution for the second study occurred in response to a critical review of the villages visited initially by American and Japanese scientists who were acquainted with village life in all parts of Japan. The period of the first study was 60 days, that of the second 90 days.

For each of the visits to the villages we had the cooperation of American and Japanese social scientists experienced in field observations. On the first we had with us on a part-time basis an American anthropologist, an American sociologist, and four Japanese rural sociologists; on the second, our field team was more formidable: an American anthropologist full-time, two other anthropologists and one sociologist part-time, two Japanese sociologists full-time, and three others part-time, four map makers half-time, an agricultural economist and a translator both full-time.

A description of our field procedures would constitute a paper in itself. Suffice it to say that through the compilation of a series of tables from village records on farm tenure and related matters, from attitude and opinion schedules filled in by representative families in each village, from personal interviews with village leaders and representative households, and from special attention to changes in leadership and the like, we concluded our field work in each village with some confidence in the adequacy of the specific data we were collecting on current conditions and on the changes that had occurred in the 18 months under study.

Our findings, too, are altogether too voluminous for even a review here, but let us mention that we did identify the following non-agrarian changes (the major agrarian changes are discussed later on in this paper): an increase in population from natural growth and from the influx of repatriates, a decrease in the death rate, an increase in taxes, an increase in local appeals of tax assessments, worsened inflation, an increase in the number of livestock, poultry, and small farm machines, more home processing of farm products, some new crops planted, a decline in forest products, an increase in the number of crimes reported, new lower secondary schools established, PTA's organized in all villages, an increase in evidences of western influences, a decrease in number of relief clients, an increase in the number of radios, and an increase in the political participation of women and youth. Changes were also observed in village leadership, family organization, religious participation, and in the attitudes and outlooks of the people.[2]

Agrarian Reforms in General

Especial emphasis is given to agrarian reforms because they appear to have had the most immediate and pervasive effect upon Japanese village life. These agrarian reforms centered around five separate programs: (1)

[2] For a full report of our findings in the 13 villages, see the forthcoming *The Japanese Village in Transition*, Raper *et al*, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (Tokyo, Japan, 1950).

the transfer of land ownership titles to the families who cultivate the land; (2) the improvement of farm tenancy practices for such families as continue as tenants; (3) the establishment of farmers' cooperatives to replace the earlier governmentally controlled farmers' organizations; (4) the reclamation of additional cultivatable land, and (5) the improvement of land already in cultivation through the enlargement of fields and the consolidation of the scattered fields of the same farmer. About this fifth part of the reform nothing needs to be said except that comparatively little has been done either on the national level or in the 13 villages. In fact headway was made on these matters in only one of the 13 villages, Yokogoshi, in Niigata, where a convincing demonstration, called "land amelioration," had been started by the central government in cooperation with the Prefecture and village offices. The physical results were satisfying enough—straight irrigation ditches, larger fields and so on—but the village's share of the cost was considered very high by the villagers.

The most important change reported in the villages centered around the land reform law, the main objective of which was to transfer the ownership of land to cultivator families. By late September 1949, the government had purchased more than 4,500,000 acres of cultivated land in Japan, or about a third of the total in the four Islands, and practically all of this land has been resold to the cultivators. More than 3,000,000 farmers, well over half of the total in Japan, bought some land under the program. The proportion of farm land operated by tenants dropped from 46 percent in late 1946 when the program was launched to about 12 percent three years later. This latter amount, still operated by tenants, provides an amount believed to be satisfactory for tenure flexibility.[3]

The land which became available to the tenants for purchase had been bought by the government from absentee owners, from temples and shrines, and from resident owners who held lands in excess of roughly 7½ acres in the three southern populous islands and 30 acres in the northern less densely populated island of Hokkaido. The formula that was used for purchasing the land seemed to have been satisfactory only to the tenants. The Russian representative on the Far Eastern Council wanted the land confiscated, but the majority of the Council insisted that it be purchased. As it worked out, because of inflexibility of the legislation, the inflationary developments resulted in the landlords receiving a very low

[3] For a full discussion of the land reform program, see Laurence I. Hewes, Jr., "Japanese Land Reform Program," Natural Resources Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Report No. 127 (Tokyo, 1950). See also, *Land Reform Law*, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Tokyo, May, 1947); William Gilmartin and W. I. Ladejinsky, "The Promise of Agrarian Reform in Japan," *Foreign Affairs, An American Quarterly Review* (January, 1948); Darrell Berrigan and W. I. Ladejinsky, "Japan's Communists Lose a Battle," *Saturday Evening Post* (January 8, 1949); W. I. Ladejinsky, "Too Late to Save Asia?," *Saturday Review of Literature* (Aug. 22, 1950).

price while the tenants received almost a windfall. Many of them paid in full for their land within the first two years.

Practically all of the operating tenants who bought land from the government bought the same fields they were already cultivating. The fact that this was done emphasizes the solidarity and general immobility of the village family. About the only cultivating families who could not buy were households operating less than half an acre, who were generally considered ineligible in that they were either primarily part-time farmers or that the land they farmed was insufficient to provide a dependable living by farming. The sale of land to a grandfather and a grandson was reasonable as in nearly all cases the grandson will carry on the farm when the grandfather dies. The land reform brought no dislocation in the farming population; it did not change in any appreciable measure the number or size of farming units as carried on under the earlier landlord-tenant system. There was a small increase of farm households, due primarily to the inability of maturing youth to move off as heretofore to the cities.

The philosophy back of the land reform program apparently runs something like this: land ownership had provided the basic background of powerful feudal families throughout Japan. Tenants had repeatedly agitated for improvement of their lot, and prior to World War II had gained permissive legislation for an increase of land ownership among cultivators[4] and for the improvement of landlord-tenant relations. As the militaristic clique arose it found it to its purpose to capitalize upon the unrest of the tenants, implying that their condition would be bettered if the militaristic group came into power, while at the same time assuring the big landowning families that their situation would remain unchanged. In short, the plight of the tenants was one of the means used by the military to gain control in Japan.[5] These facts were well known to the State Department, and to the Japanese scholars whose services became available to the Occupation forces. The result was that the Occupation early determined to break the old feudal pattern as a prerequisite to launching democratic programs. It was early realized that

[4] Under this permissive legislation more than 735,000 acres had been purchased by tenant farmers under the various Governmental programs which fixed the price and facilitated the financing when needed.

[5] For information about Japanese agriculture and agrarian unrest see Shiroshi Nasu, "Aspects of Japanese Agriculture," *Institute of Pacific Relations* (New York, 1941); S. Kawada, "Tenant System in Japan and Korea," *Kyoto University Economic Review* (1926); M. Kimura, "Japan's Agrarian Problems," *Foreign Affairs Association of Japan* (1937); Hugh Byas, *Government by Assassination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942); W. I. Ladejinsky, "Japan's Agricultural Crises," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXI (August, 1939); Hugh Barton, "Peasant Uprisings in Japan of the Tokugawa Period," *Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan* (1938); "Farm Tenancy in Japan," Natural Resource Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Report No. 79 (Tokyo, 1947); and "Japanese Agricultural Land Statistics," Natural Resource Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Report No. 101 (Tokyo, 1948).

personal responsibility and free enterprise could be appreciated by the rank and file of villagers only insofar as they had first-hand appreciation of the meaning of private property through owning some themselves.

Another part of land reform was to insure fair tenancy practices on the 12 percent of farm land still operated by tenants. The new legislation required written landlord-tenant leases, rent ceilings, cash rentals, and safeguards against arbitrary changes in rental contracts. These changes are of great importance to the few families still operating as farm tenants, but the number of remaining tenant families is relatively small.

The second greatest change brought about by the agrarian reforms was in response to the enactment of the Agricultural Cooperative Association Law, in December of 1947. This Occupation-sponsored law, fashioned after internationally recognized cooperative principles, affected the life of the vast majority of farmers for it gave them the opportunity and responsibility to organize farmer-controlled agricultural cooperatives. As reported by the Agricultural Division of the Natural Resource Section: "By 30 June 1949 a total of 31,329 local and individual cooperatives had been organized. These had federated into a total of 993 federations of agricultural cooperatives by the same date. Volume of business records for the year of 1948 showed cooperatives handled a major portion of farmers purchases, sales, financial deposits, and loans. Membership in these cooperatives is voluntary. Each member has a vote."[6] The legislation setting up the cooperatives dissolved the wartime centrally controlled farmers organizations, and transferred the assets to the newly organized cooperatives. Non-farmers could not be voting members, and an effort was made by Occupation leaders to get persons elected whose interests centered on farming. The result was that four-fifths of the officers of the cooperatives in May 1949 had never been directors or auditors of the earlier centrally controlled agricultural organizations. The new agricultural cooperatives afforded farmers a real voice in their own affairs and provided additional opportunities for them to function as leaders.

The reclamation of agricultural land was a third important change brought about by the agrarian reforms. From 1945 to 1949, according to the Agricultural Division of Natural Resources Section "the government acquired 2,700,000 acres of uncultivated land for reclamation and 845,000 acres have been reclaimed."[7] This represents an increase of about 5 percent in the amount of agricultural land, and was possible only because much of the 500,000 acres of farm land that had been shifted to military purposes before and during World War II was transferred back to

[6] Taken from a mimeographed report, "Japanese Agriculture Programs Under the Occupation" (September 26, 1949), prepared by the Agriculture Division, Natural Resources Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo.

[7] Agricultural Division, Natural Resources Section, *op. cit.*

agricultural purposes. This additional farm land served the double purpose of letting some repatriates get settled on farms and of permitting some few established farmers to increase their farm lands a bit. The importance of even a small increase will be appreciated by Americans when they realize that in a land area about the size of California live as many farm families as in the United States, that because of mountains but a sixth of this land can be farmed, and that the average farm in Japan is 2½ acres.

Effects of Agrarian Reform in 13 Villages

The various facets of the agrarian program described above were analyzed in each of the 13 sample villages, such as amount and type of land bought by the government and resold to tenants, the number and type of agricultural cooperatives and the characteristics of the elected officials of each, the amount of land reclaimed and the way it has been distributed, and so on. As the over-all quantitative situations in the 13 villages generally parallel the national picture, we will not present them here. These and numerous other data are presented in our report, *The Japanese Village in Transition*, published in late 1950.

The single greatest change which had occurred in the 13 villages between the time of our first visit in May-June 1947 and our return visit in November-December 1948 was the land reform. It stood clearly first. The tenants who had long hoped for land ownership at last had land, and along with this increase of owner-operators great changes had taken place in the leadership in the villages, particularly in such vital matters as being elected mayor, a member of the village assembly, or of holding office in the women's associations, the youth's associations, and other village and *buraku* activities.

When we were in the villages in June 1947 considerable uncertainty was felt by the tenants as to ownership. Some of them, seemingly to make certain that they not get at odds with their landlords, were said not to want to become owners. When we were back 18 months later, we did not find a single new owner who stated that he would prefer to be a tenant again, or that he would just as soon be a tenant. Rather all of them expressed great pride and satisfaction in becoming owners, often pointing out how it had been a lifetime hope of theirs and of their fathers before them. Several new owners added that they had had little hope of ever getting any land, but now that they have it they are determined to keep it. It seemed clear on our second visit that the determination of these new owners to hold on to their newly purchased land was already having important effects upon the participation of these families in public affairs. The uniform response of the new owners in favor of continued ownership was a bit surprising to some officials in Tokyo, for they pointed out that taxes had gotten heavier, delivery of crops at government prices had increased, and inflation had become more burdensome;

further than this, there had been a marked decrease in the black market of farm products. All of these things were making it increasingly difficult for farmers to meet their expenses, especially since they had no choice but to continue to buy many essential commodities on the black market. The other side of the situation, and not a surprising one to the close student of feudal societies, is that status has long been closely associated with land ownership and so quite naturally the rank and file of villagers wanted land above everything else.

In two of the 13 villages we found applications of the permissive land reform laws enacted by the Japanese Diet: in Mizuwake, in Iwate, in northern Japan, under pre-war legislation, 74 acres of farm land had been resold to 30 tenant farmers in the late 1930's; the largest amount bought by any one farmer was 3.2 acres. The price paid for the land, as fixed by law, was 48 times the registered annual rental of the paddy and 40 times the annual rental of the cultivated upland. The tenant purchasers, as in the later Occupation's program, were permitted to pay for the land in 24 annual installments, with interest at 3.2 percent per annum. In Yoshida, a mountainous village in Shimane in west central Japan, under similar new legislation, 338 acres were sold to 200 farm tenants in late 1945 and early 1946. The purchases in both villages were subsequently certified *in toto* under the Occupation's land reform program.

Considerable agitation for improved landlord-tenant relations had occurred before the war in three villages—Yokogoshi in Niigata, Aioi in Kagawa, and Kawashiro in Shizuoka. In several other villages, smaller groups of tenants had let it be known that they wanted better leasing conditions. Despite earlier efforts to improve the land tenure situation, in late 1948 the leaders in nearly all of the villages expressed amazement that so comprehensive a land program had been launched and carried through in so short a time.

Village Land Commissions

The method by which the land reform program was carried out constitutes an important adult educational program, perhaps one of the most significant adult educational efforts ever launched. The purchases and resales of the land were made by village commissions—nearly 10,600 generally independent and highly responsible groups of 10 members each. Half of the members of each commission were farm tenants. This was done to make certain that the tenants' interests were protected. Of the other members, two were owner-farmers and three were landlords. Election of the commissions provided one of the early opportunities for the Occupation to conduct elections in the villages throughout Japan. In some villages elections were not held for candidates, rather the candidates were selected at *buraku* meetings, a sort of people's caucus. Some such selections were certified; in other instances, a new election was announced and held.

These local commissions began to operate in December 1946. First they purchased the arable land of absentee owners and corporations. They did this first because it was the easiest place to begin. Later they purchased the lands rented out by temples and shrines, and finally the lands of owner-operators in excess of their retention rights.

The commissions took on added significance as the program went forward. The importance attached to membership on the commission increased greatly when the reselling of the land to the tenant-operators began in late 1947 and early 1948. Only then did it become clear to the villagers that the tenant members of the commissions had real authority.

The purchase and resale of the land was a tedious and involved transaction. In one village, characterized by longtime paddy farming, 11,000 pieces of land were involved; in another, 4,000; and in another, 2,000.

A number of people in addition to the tenant members of the commissions received valuable on-the-ground adult leadership experience, including the clerks who prepared the transactions for the commission's consideration and the *buraku* representative who often worked out the details of purchase and resale in his locality. With an average of at least three clerks per commission and not less than a half dozen *buraku* representatives, it means that 15 to 20 men in each village—a national total of 150,000 to 200,000—had participated in this unique leadership experience, and that about a third of these were from the farm-tenant group who in the old tenure system could hardly have hoped to perform as leaders. So, quite aside from the benefits which the new owners secured from the land purchased, the way the transfers were carried out has in a short time produced a sizable group of potential new leaders in Japanese villages.

Many a tense moment was shared in the work of these local commissions. Everybody, especially the tenant members, were aware of the precedent-breaking activities. They knew they were playing a new and undefined role. Some few became reckless and overbearing in their powers; some seemed inarticulate and in their normal subservient role, and now and then one functioned as an agent of his landlord. Landlord representatives too behaved in different ways. Some appeared to cooperate in the program, some were neutral, others seemed to do whatever they could in their own ways within the limits of the unusual circumstances to discredit the work of the commissions by discounting the activities of the tenant members as they went about their assigned duties. No violence occurred in any of the villages visited; practically none was reported anywhere in the Islands.

In each of the villages some people were found who thought the land reform had done more harm than good; but many more thought it had done more good than harm. These reactions, gained through attitude and opinion schedules filled in in each village as a part of the field survey,

point to the striving for control which operated throughout the work of the commissions. The really important aspects of the adult education experience of these village land commisions centers around the effective assaults that were being made upon the traditional feudal patterns that had long characterized the life of the villagers.

Farmers' Cooperatives

Setting up and operating the agricultural cooperatives also afforded new opportunity to farmers to operate as leaders. One or more members of practically all farm households in the 13 villages were members of agricultural cooperatives. There were 29 village-level agricultural cooperative associations on a *buraku* level or centering around some one agricultural product, such as silk. In addition, villagers often participated in cooperatives on a *gun* or Prefectural level devised to assist in the production and marketing of livestock, fruits, poultry, or some other farm product.

Of the 144 members of the boards of directors of the village-level cooperatives, 73 percent had never held an office in the earlier centrally controlled farmers organizations, and all of them were farmers. This represented a real change in farmer leadership, for under the old set up non-farm village people held most of the offices and often constituted the effective voting members of the village farm organization.

The farmers on the board of directors of the new agricultural cooperatives were obviously new in their leadership roles in many of the villages visited. They were not nearly so ready to speak about the affairs of the organization and of village farm conditions as had been the directors of the centrally controlled organizations upon our first visit to the villages. The new farmer members were deliberate, and more attuned to the farmer himself. They seemed to be thinking concretely about specific ways in which the cooperatives could help improve the village farming situation; they talked of expansion of local processing of farm products, the making and sale of more handicrafts, and so on. The limitations in the outlook of the new farmer directors may prove a real strength because it will relate the newly organized agricultural cooperatives more closely to local conditions.

Some advantages of the cooperatives as set forth by villagers are: the organization is much closer to the farmers, and the farmers feel more like asking questions and expressing opinions about its operation; payments for crops sold are more prompt, as the purchase price is arranged locally rather than through the district or Prefectural set-up of the earlier centrally controlled farmers organization; and under the new organization a farmer need not, as earlier, sell his produce to the local organization. Rather, he may sell it to any purchaser who is qualified to buy, and to whom a specified number of farmers have certified their wish to sell their products. Not all farmers shared these views, but the majority did. Some of the less well-informed villagers ap-

parently knew little or nothing about the cooperatives other than that the old centrally controlled farmers' organizations had been disbanded and that a new farmers' organization had been set up. The cooperative leadership is aware of this condition and is working through posters, meetings, and other educational means to make the cooperatives increasingly democratic through the widespread responsible participation of the farm people.

Another important change is that the number of local units of the newly organized village farmers' cooperative association is greater than under the centrally controlled set-up; and that the new local units, voluntarily arrived at, more nearly represent natural locality groupings than did the arbitrarily fixed local units of the earlier organization.

Land Reclamation Program

Land reclamation efforts, too, influenced village conditions rather widely. In 10 of the 13 villages, some additional farm land was added after 1946; in the other three there was no possibility of adding land, because all of the land was already in use as farms, building sites, roads, canals, and irrigation ponds. Villagers everywhere were pleased with the land reclamation project on our second visit, although on the first visit many were noncommittal or objected. For, as they saw the situation then, new families—mostly repatriates—would take up all the new land and would doubly penalize the resident farmers, first by increasing the number of farmers when there were already too many, and second, by forever precluding the possibility of enlarging their own farm lands through reclamation efforts. But, by the time of our second visit to the villages a portion of the reclaimed land was used to enlarge the farming areas of the resident farmers, and so the whole attitude toward the reclamation projects had become one of enthusiastic support. Most of the new settlers were located on the larger reclamation projects, while most of the land in the smaller projects was being made available to resident farmers. This additional farm land in Japan where the per capita land resource base is small, whether used by new settlers or established farm families, has given added hope to the villagers as a whole, and so has made them more articulate and more active in village affairs.

General Effects of Agrarian Reforms

The over-all effects of the agrarian programs have been important on many levels. Perhaps leadership serves as an immediate and meaningful register of the changes taking place. It was estimated by the present leaders in the villages that from 10 to 40 percent of the people now in leadership positions would not occupy them except for the land reform and related agrarian programs, and that in 10 years a third to a half of all local leaders will come from the new owner-farmer group.

In one village, Yokogoshi, in Niigata, where the shift to the new leadership was found to be almost complete, a conference was held with village

officials on this subject. The meeting convened in the village hall assembly room. Looking up at the life-sized portraits of former village headmen—six of them—the officials said that not one of the present officials could have held office under conditions prevailing when these earlier mayors were in office. All of these former mayors were landowners, most of them members of the village's largest landowning family. Practically all of the assemblymen, too, prior to the agrarian reforms, had been from the village's small landowning group, despite the fact that 46 percent of the farmers when the Occupation began tenanted 90 percent or more of the land they cultivated, and 72 percent tenanted half or more of the land. The present mayor owns no land, was a clerk in the village hall, and long identified with the Farmers Union, which had agitated for improvement of the land tenure situation. Practically all of the assemblymen were new owners, as were most of the officers in the other public and private organizations in the village.

Great changes in leadership had also occurred in two other villages, Obie and Aioi, but in each the new owner group had recently been effectively challenged and put out of office by the more traditional leadership elements. There was considerable political rivalry in each, and it seemed evident that the old and the new leaders in these, as in most of rural Japan, will for some years to come be busy learning to live and work with one another.

I have presented some of the changes that have taken place in Japanese villages in recent months; and I have tried to give at least an inkling of the long road of adjustments ahead, as rural Japan with its feudal backgrounds reacts to the Occupation's efforts to inject into it democratic ways of life.

Some Problems of Stratification Research*

By Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis†

ABSTRACT

A field study of stratification in a small community in central Pennsylvania provides data which substantiate the following viewpoints on stratification research: (1) The one-sided emphasis on prestige stratification in recent literature is not justified, since other stratification variables yield as good or better predictions of dependent variables. (2) None of the methods yet proposed for delineating "classes" provides a unique solution to the problems of the number and boundaries of classes. Hence, any tendency to reify empirical schemes of classes must be avoided. (3) The structure of prestige in a small community may be fruitfully viewed as a function of stratification in the "mass society." Sound generalizations about stratification can be drawn from community studies only if this relationship is made explicit.

Recent criticism of stratification research has pointed up the following methodological and theoretical weaknesses, among others, in such research: (1) an unjustified exclusive dependence on prestige indices, to the neglect of other important dimensions of stratification; (2) the inept handling of the concept "class" and exaggerated claims for certain schemes of "classes"; and (3) an inadequate rationale for generalizing from community studies of stratification.[1] It is proposed to consider these problems in the light of certain data which were recently collected for the primary purpose of studying social stratification as a factor in the social participation of people in a Pennsylvania rural community. These data obviously do not afford an adequate basis for general conclusions about stratification in American society. Nonetheless, they are of considerable interest as constituting a *negative case* for some of the assumptions and presuppositions about the phenomenon of stratification now current in the literature. At the least, this paper provides a standpoint for re-evaluation and re-interpretation of previously published work.

The community studied is located in the central part of the state. It has a total population of about 2,100 and has changed little in numbers since 1900. About 800 people live in the village center, 170 in a nearby hamlet, and the remainder in the open country, the boundaries of the community having been delineated on the basis of service relationships between village and open country people. There are no ethnic or religious "minorities" in the community. The farming is mixed dairying and general self-suf-

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[1] See Harold W. Pfautz and Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), 205-215; and papers by Chinoy, Gross, Hatt, and Kluckhohn cited below.

ficing. A number of people, particularly blue collar workers, are employed in towns about ten miles distant from the village center.[2] The field work was carried out in the summer of 1949, on the basis of one schedule per household, a total of 521 schedules being taken.

The following indices of stratification were studied:

Occupation of household head
Total family income
Present or previous holding of political office by household head
Educational attainment in school years completed by household head
Sewell's socio-economic status scale (short form)
"Community prestige score" (based on an arbitrary scoring of responses to a question asking respondents to name families of "higher," "lower," and "about the same general standing in the community" as theirs)
"Judges' prestige rating" (based on a percentile scoring of prestige ratings on a representative sample of about one-fourth the families in the community provided by a panel of five key informants, the procedure being a modification of techniques used by Schuler, Kaufman, and Hollingshead)
Self-identification of respondents as to class membership, as used in Centers' public opinion poll studies.

Scoring devices were worked out to give a rough quantification of degree of activity in various types of social participation. The following indices are referred to below:

Formal participation in voluntary associations was scored by giving varying credit for past membership, inactive membership, active membership, past office holding, and present office holding. Separate scores were calculated for male household heads and female heads or wives of heads.

Informal participation in such activities as parties, hunting trips, shopping expeditions, borrowing, and taking care of other people's children, was scored on the basis of recency of participation in each activity. The total score was calculated only for heads of households, whether male or female.

Semi-formal participation was similarly scored for attendance at such functions as movies, athletic contests, fairs, auctions, plays, and school commencements. The total score was computed only for household heads.

It is expected that a detailed account of the procedures of the study will be available in a forthcoming bulletin, which will describe the research comprehensively.

Stratification Indices as Predictors

One of the noteworthy tendencies in stratification research has been the predilection for using exclusively one single index of stratification, usually of the "prestige" or "community rep-

2 For general background on the community, see M. E. John, *Forces Influencing Rural Life*, Pennsylvania AESB 388 (State College, Feb., 1940).

utation" type. Preference for this type of index is seldom defended rigorously, nor is the exclusive use of a single index justified on other than intuitive grounds. As Professor Chinoy points out in a critique of Hollingshead's work, the preoccupation with prestige status may lead to a failure to recognize important direct correlates of such other dimensions of stratification as occupation and income.[3]

It seems reasonable to insist that no single index of stratification be relied on exclusively in a crucial study unless it is shown (1) that it best serves the purposes of a stratification index, and (2) that no great loss of information is incurred by neglecting other stratification variables. The problem posed by a multiplicity of alternative stratification indices has been recognized by Kaufman, who suggests that a solution can be reached, first, by a factor analysis of the various elements in the "class complex," and, second, by "comparing the predictive value of social or prestige class with that of other concepts."[4]

It is questionable whether data on important stratification indices can be cast in a form suitable for the usual procedures of factor analysis, though the problem has a superficial resemblance to that of the factor analyst. There is likewise difficulty in making crucial comparisons of the predictive power of stratification indices, but a beginning at least can be made with data presently available. It is suggested that investigators like Kaufman, Warner, and Hollingshead re-examine their already collected data from the point of view of the relative predictive power of different stratification indices. Some surprising results might appear. The Pennsylvania data, as far as they go, are suggestive of a different ordering of stratification variables with reference to their predictive power than has been previously assumed. But there is an obvious limitation on the generality of results from a single sample, with the dependent variables confined to measures of social participation. Many functions of stratification, other than participation, need to be examined from this viewpoint.

Tables 1 and 2 exhibit the findings as to the associations of the several participation variables with the stratification indices used in this study. The most striking result is that, of the seven indices of stratification, the one which on the whole best predicts the social participation scores is the socioeconomic status scale. With one minor exception its correlation with any type of participation is higher than that of any other stratification variable. Considering the diversity of indices used and of their forms of distribution, this is a notable result. It is not possible to give a numerical confidence coefficient for the inference that this finding is generalizable to the hypothetical universe of possibilities represented by the sample. None-

[3] Ely Chinoy, "Research in Class Structure," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XVI (May, 1950), 255-263.

[4] Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, New York AES Memoir 260 (Cornell, March, 1944), p. 42.

TABLE 1. CORRELATION RATIOS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORES ON STRATIFICATION VARIABLES.

Stratification Variable	Number of Categories	Formal Participation		Semi-formal, Household Head	Informal, Household Head
		Male Household Head	Female Head or Wife		
Occupation of Household Head	10	.36	.38	.31	.26
Family Income	10	.48	.35	.43	.30
Office Holding by Household Head	4	.31	.36	.20	.14*

* Significant at the .05 level; all other correlation ratios are highly significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 2. CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORES AND STRATIFICATION VARIABLES. (SAMPLE OF 125 HOUSEHOLDS RATED BY JUDGES)

Stratification Variable	Formal Participation		Semi-formal, Household Head	Informal, Household Head
	Male Household Head[a]	Female Head or Wife[b]		
Judges' Prestige Rating	.43	.43	.52	.34
Community Prestige Score	.30	.35	.27	.25
Socioeconomic Status Score	.50	.40	.68	.37
Education, Household Head	—	—	.60	.34
Education, Male Head	.45	—	—	—
Education, Female Head or Wife	—	.22*	—	—

[a] N=107. [b] N=112.
* Significant at the .05 level; all other coefficients are highly significant at the .01 level.

theless, the sample furnishes the best estimate of what is true in such a universe. On this evidence, the choice of any single index would favor the socioeconomic status scale over any of the other variables. It is also true that the addition of judges' prestige rating to the socioeconomic status scale in a multiple regression analysis would increase predictability only slightly. For example, the correlation of .37 for informal participation would be raised only to .40 by adding this second variable. Since some of the other indices also give relatively good results compared to those for the prestige indices, one would like to see much more convincing proof than has yet been offered that it is empirically justifiable to focus stratification analysis exclusively on indices of prestige.

The Problem of "Classes"

The present research departs from precedent in avoiding an initial conceptual orientation in terms of "classes," on the viewpoint that methods so far proposed for delineating classes in the community have not been demonstrated rigorously to yield a unique solution to the problems of the number of classes and of setting the boundaries between classes. While it has been claimed that such-and-such "classes" actually exist in the communities where they have been identified (seemingly as substantive entities and structural units), it appears that the "classes" are, on the contrary,

constructs of the investigator and artifacts of particular techniques of manipulating the data. Moreover, these have not been carefully scrutinized against other possible constructs and techniques. It seems likely that the several schemes of "classes" which have been advocated involve a danger that the investigator will reify his concepts and convey a false impression of fixity and disjunctiveness in the stratification structure.[5]

Since the community was studied without presuppositions as to any particular "class structure," it is of interest to examine the possibilities for the delineation of "classes" presented by the present data.

(1) In analyzing the data various "classificatory" devices have been used, i.e., the grouping of cases by categories of an attribute and the subdivision of the distribution of a variable by class intervals. One might logically refer to, say, occupational classes or income classes as defined by such operations. But it is clear that such classes are primarily determined by the technical criteria of statistical analysis; that the particular groupings used are mainly a matter of convenience; and that no two alternative bases of classification would in general yield classes with identical membership. Obviously, then, these procedures permit no general statement about *the* "class structure," in a unique sense, of a community. Where an investigation is committed to a frame of reference involving "classes," there is danger of making unwarranted statements along these lines.

(2) A further criterion may be imposed on classificatory procedures to the effect that "classes" are defined to exist where variation in a dependent variable shows "jumps" or "breaks" as between categories or class intervals of a selected stratification variable. If such breaks are found together with a significant degree of homogeneity within classes, there is then some justification for using the term "classes" substantively rather than merely as a designation for arbitrary intervals or categories.

The fact that significant correlation coefficients and ratios are obtained for the associations of participation scores with stratification indices indicates that reasonable groupings of values of the stratification variables will yield somewhat homogeneous "classes" (relative, that is, to the variation in the whole universe). However, most of the relationships found are of the kind where changes in the independent (stratification) variable are associated with small, graduated changes in the dependent variable. The only stratification variable which appears to offer a good possibility for "breaks" is occupation. Using participation scores as

[5] For criticism of schemes of "classes" along other lines, see Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (March, 1949), 409-421. Gross gives an excellent statement of the problems involved in delineating classes, considered from the standpoint of the logic of classification and prediction; unfortunately he does not seem to have considered the possibility of regarding a scheme of classes as a set of theoretical typologies, a possibility mentioned below.

TABLE 3. MEAN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS, BY TYPE OF PARTICIPATION AND BROAD OCCUPATION GROUPS.

Type of Participation	Mean Scores*			
	White Collar	Farmers	Blue Collar	No Gainful Occupation
Formal, Female Heads or Wives of Heads	61.9	46.3	47.8	49.8
Formal, Male Household Heads	61.8	48.6	47.5	51.8
Semi-formal, Household Heads	63.1	46.4	49.1	44.2
Informal, Household Heads	58.0	48.9	48.2	48.2

* Each series is given in standard score form, with a mean for all cases of 50 and a standard deviation of 20.

the dependent variables, the regression patterns suggest that a combination of the major occupation groups into three broad categories would highlight any possible "breaks." It may be seen in Table 3 that the mean participation scores are uniformly highest for the white collar category. Furthermore, the mean differences between white collar and either of the other two categories are so large compared to the differences between farmers and blue collar workers that there may be said to be a distinct "break" in the participation scores between "classes" at this point. However, the "breaks" do not indicate any great disjunctiveness between "classes," since there is a large overlap of individual scores and wide dispersion about the means. The fact that the correlation ratios are of the order of only .3 to .4 shows that the class boundaries are by no means clean breaks.

The trouble with this approach is, obviously, that there is no clear criterion of what constitutes a "break," nor of what is to be regarded as a sufficient degree of homogeneity within classes. Nor will the solution necessarily be a unique one, if more than one stratification variable is considered, or if the "breaks" cannot be fixed without some arbitrary decisions.

(3) The case for the existence of disjunct classes in a community has sometimes been made from data on various types of categorical references volunteered by informants. Thus Warner reports the frequent mention of such terms as "society," "the 400," "Hill Streeters," "The Federated Church Crowd." Such explicit designations of putative social strata do not appear in the Pennsylvania data. In some 700 responses to a question asking why families were considered to have "higher" or "lower" general standing in the community, only one such reference was made, to the effect that "people of—Hollow" were of lower standing. It may be argued that a more indirect technique of interviewing might have yielded categorical references of this type. Nonetheless, from the experience of this study, it is quite unlikely that enough of such material could be gathered to provide the basis for delineating a unique "class structure" in this particular community.

(4) Another approach to the delineation of classes is represented by

poll questions asking for the self-identification of respondents as to their class membership. The schedule used in this study incorporated the question devised by Centers: "If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in? —the middle class, the lower class, the working class, or the upper class?" The responses, "lower class" and "upper class," were given quite infrequently; hence they were combined with "working class" and "middle class," respectively, in the analysis. The data agree with Centers' in showing a significant difference in responses to this question by occupation groups. Among white collar respondents 49 percent of the household heads identified themselves as "middle class," compared to only 19 per cent of farm people and 21 per cent of blue collar workers.

Despite these reasonable results, the class-identification technique has obvious defects. The number of classes is arbitrary, as is the set of designations given them; and the particular type of forced choice question used is of questionable validity in regard to so intangible a matter as class consciousness. Aside from these considerations, class identification has in fact little usefulness as an analytical tool in the context of this particular study. Though the evidence cannot be detailed here, it was found that either in respect to intercorrelation with other stratification variables, or as a predictor of dependent variables, this categorization is less meaningful than the division by broad occupation groups suggested above. In many cases, if occupation is held constant, the correlation of dependent variables with class identification disappears altogether. It seems warranted to suggest that responses to the question on class identification reflect little more than the respondent's conception of his occupational position, plus a good deal of variability not significantly associated with other aspects of stratification or its correlates. It may even be suggested that a close reading of Centers' own evidence is compatible with such an interpretation. If anything, the data on class identification tend to substantiate the use of broad occupation groups as "classes," rather than to suggest a fruitful alternative scheme.

(5) Loomis and associates propose that any method of delineating "classes" be validated by studying sociometrically the association patterns of members of the community in "activities universally engaged in by equals."[6] If the class delineation is valid, then the association patterns should reveal clustering within classes and "cleavages" between classes. The suggestion to examine the functions of social stratification with the microscopic techniques of sociometry is an interesting one, though, as noted above, it is not desirable to confine the criteria of "classes" to matters of social participation. In any case, the proposed device of determining the

[6] C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle and T. W. Longmore, "Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification," *Sociometry Monographs*, No. 19 (Beacon House, 1948), 19.

degree of similarity with regard to stratification indices between persons assumed to be "equals" would constitute a validation procedure for stratification indices in general, and not just "classes." The considerations which have been adduced about classification and "breaks" remain problems.

Following Loomis' suggestion, visiting patterns were analyzed in relation to stratification. If it is assumed that a visiting relationship between two households signifies that they participate as "equals," then it seems most reasonable to confine the analysis to mutual relationships, i.e., where each of a pair of households reported visiting with the other. On this basis the data show 82 pair relationships, involving 145 households (some of the households being involved more than once). Neglecting cases where no gainful occupation was reported, 62 per cent of these pairs are homogeneous as to occupation, within the broad groupings, Blue Collar, Farm, and White Collar. If these pairs were constituted from among the same households at random as far as occupation is concerned, only 37 per cent would involve households of similar occupational level. There is, then, a discernable "cleavage" between occupation groups, and insofar as the suggested criterion is accepted, the use of these groupings as "classes" is validated.

A further analysis along these lines concerns the socioeconomic status scores of the households involved in mutual visiting relationships. Since there is no intrinsic order to the relationship within each pair, the appropriate summary statistic is the "intraclass correlation,"[7] rather than the usual Pearson coefficient. The analysis of variance (Table 4) reveals a significantly larger variance between pairs than within pairs, with an intraclass correlation of .52. There is, therefore, a considerable tendency for visiting relationships to involve households of similar socioeconomic status. If the socioeconomic status score distribution were divided into class intervals, no doubt "cleavages" could be shown to exist between "classes" so defined. However, inspection of sociometric charts gives no indication of the most appropriate breaking points for such divisions, and there is, ac-

[7] George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods* (Ames, Iowa: Collegiate Press, 1938), pp. 203-205; the term "intraclass" is, of course, a statistical one and has nothing to do with the sociological concept of "class."

TABLE 4. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCALE SCORES OF PAIRS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH MUTUAL VISITING RELATIONSHIPS.

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Between Pairs	81	13,812.2	170.52**
Within Pairs	82	4,401.0	53.67
Total	163	18,213.2	

** $F=3.18$; $P<.01$. Intraclass correlation=.52.

cordingly, no unique solution to the problem of the number of classes and their boundaries.

By way of summary, the data give little or no support to the several proposals in the literature for determining in a unique manner the "class structure" of a community. On the other hand, a number of different schemes of "classes" for this community could each claim some empirical validation. It seems possible to execute useful research on stratification and its functions without exclusive reliance on any one such scheme.

From a theoretical standpoint the concept of class seems to imply a certain fluidity and indeterminacy of boundaries between social strata, as compared to estates or caste systems. Hence any scheme of classes which implies a great deal of fixity of classes and disjunctiveness between classes probably does violence to the kind of facts that the concept of class is supposed to cover. If this is a reasonable contention, then any particular scheme of classes can only be justified as either an empirical classification, or as a hypothetical typology. In the case of empirical classifications, the existential or substantive character of classes is irrelevant, and the only problem is that of convenience. In the case of typologies it is true by definition that the "classes" cannot be regarded as empirically existing in precise correspondence to the conceptual scheme. If these points are overlooked, the investigator runs into serious risk of overinterpreting his empirical categories, or of reifying his typology. In either case his conclusions will be predicated on a "fallacy of misplaced concreteness."

On Generalizing from Community Stratification Studies

Paul Hatt has recently raised the pointed question:—*Is stratification to be considered a function of the local community or of the mass society?*[8]

The way in which this question is answered, explicitly or implicity, by various investigators appears to give the best clue to their intentions to generalize from community stratification studies. Thus, Warner asserts that "all Americans are in Jonesville," and is able to achieve generalizations of great scope, simply by fiat. On the other hand, Kaufman has implied that it is a merit of the technique of prestige rating that it allows the stratification structure of a particular community to be depicted to some extent in terms of "its own unique configuration of social values."[9] This presumably leaves the problem of generalization one of ascertaining the degrees of uniqueness and communality in the value systems of a wide variety of communities. Some such program is also implied in Warner's earlier proposal to develop a "comparative sociology" based on a great number of community studies.

There is, however, room for skepticism as to whether either the approach of "generalization by fiat" or

[8] Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), 216-222.

[9] Harold F. Kaufman, "Defining Prestige in a Rural Community," *Sociometry Monographs*, No. 10 (Beacon House, 1946), 24.

TABLE 5. AVERAGE OF JUDGES' PRESTIGE RATINGS FOR HOUSEHOLD HEADS CLASSIFIED BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, PENNSYLVANIA RURAL COMMUNITY STUDY, COMPARED WITH AVERAGE PRESTIGE SCORES OF OCCUPATIONS CLASSIFIED BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION STUDY.

Major Occupation Group	Judges' Prestige Ratings, Community Study		Average Prestige Score, National Study[b]
	Number Rated	Average Rating[a]	
Professional and Semiprofessional	4	79.1	80.6
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials exc. Farm	5	70.4	74.9
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers	4	67.5	68.2
Farmers and Farm Managers	—	—	61.3
—Farm Owners	20	54.7	—
—Farm Tenants	9	46.1	—
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	15	47.4	68.0
Operatives and Kindred Workers	14	45.7	52.8
Service Workers	6	53.4	—
—Protective Service	—	—	58.0
—Service, exc. Domestic and Protective	—	—	46.7
Non-farm Laborers	28	36.4	45.8

[a] Given in standard score form, with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 20 for all cases. The correlation ratio of prestige ratings on occupation is .56, significant at the .01 level.

[b] Source: Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in *Sociological Analysis*, ed. Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1949); see also Paul K. Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (May, 1950), 533-543.

of a "comparative sociology" of studies of small communities will adequately answer Hatt's question. The critical literature seems most cogent on this point. It would seem more strategic as well as more straightforward to attempt to answer the question directly on its own terms. This calls, of course, for a concerted research program oriented to the problem of stratification as a function of the local community vs. stratification as a function of the mass society. It may be questioned whether existing studies have had either the necessary scope or an adequate methodology for penetrating to the heart of the question—the present study included. However, the Pennsylvania data are considered to be suggestive when carefully scrutinized. In addition, critical reflection on the present research effort, as well as previous ones, leads to the suggestion of a couple of conceptual distinctions and a hypothesis which may be of use to subsequent workers.

In Table 5 the "judges' prestige ratings" have been classified by occupation and put into a form roughly comparable to prestige scores for occupations derived by North and Hatt from a national public opinion poll. This is a comparison of the average prestige ratings *of individuals* in a rural Pennsylvania community with average prestige scores of groups *of occupations* in the nation at large. This distinction should be emphasized: The judges in this study rated

heads of households in a local prestige structure without explicit reference to occupation, whereas the poll respondents rated occupational titles without explicit reference to individuals who might be pursuing the occupations. In the first instance, the "unique configuration of social values" of the particular community was presumably influencing the ratings; whereas in the second case, any such elements are averaged out in the computation of a national score. It should also be pointed out that the occupational structure of a village community lacks the multitudinous differentiations of the nation's occupational structure; and that North and Hatt's averages are based on selected occupational titles, not necessarily entirely representative for any given occupation group. Further, there are certain discrepancies in classification as between the two studies. Finally, as will be noted, the present ratings are based on a rather small number of cases.

With all these reasons for legitimately expecting important divergencies between the two sets of results, it seems most remarkable to find that there is, instead, very close agreement! (The absolute scores are, of course, not comparable, the two series being built upon different arbitrary scales). Thus, the two sets of results agree completely on the positions of the first three occupation groups. In North and Hatt's data, craftsmen etc. are above farmers; in the present data, where it is possible to distinguish farm owners and tenants, craftsmen etc. are higher than tenants, but lower than owners. The principal disagreement between the two series is in the case of service workers; there are too few service workers in the sample to subdivide them, as North and Hatt have done. No data are shown for farm laborers; there are only two of these in the community, neither of whom appeared in the sample rated by the judges. It may be noted that quite similar results are obtained on the basis of "community prestige scores," except that this index does not discriminate well at the lower end of the scale.

Now, it would be too much to claim that this finding demonstrates that the community prestige structure is a function of stratification in the mass society entirely. Nonetheless, the only reasonable inference is that there is a strong relationship between the two. It is not logical to suppose that the national poll respondents based their evaluations on experience in the Pennsylvania community; it is more likely that there is something of a roughly uniform prestige hierarchy of occupations in the mass society which is reflected in the prestige values attributed to individuals pursuing those occupations in the community.

The comparison with North and Hatt's data goes a long way to support the proposition that *in its prestige dimension* stratification can be regarded as a function of the mass society, manifested with interesting idiosyncrasies in the local community; or as Hatt puts it, "that while class positions exist in the local community,

they are local expressions of determinants in the mass society."[10] The fact that such cross-community indices as the socioeconomic status scale give good prediction of dependent variables compared to prestige rating provides further substantiation of this viewpoint.

Stratification research can go further toward making itself relevant to this issue if a careful distinction is drawn between stratification as it functions *in* the community, and stratification as a function *of* the mass society. The Pennsylvania data show, for example, important functions of stratification *in* a rural community, particularly in regard to social participation. Other studies supply abundant results along these lines. But to show that stratification has important functions *in* the local community says nothing one way or another about whether it is a function *of* the local community or *of* the mass society. Failure to examine this question directly is one of the most serious deficiencies of stratification research, including the present study. It is an obvious fallacy to suppose that the one proposition confirms the other; here, at any rate, this error is avoided.

Another theoretical point: There is considerable danger in trying to account for all the observed variance in social behavior in terms of social structure. To the sociologist, "social structure" is a rather high order abstraction from data which are in constant process of flux. To the social actor, insofar as he may think in terms of "social structure," it must be a stereotyped summary of countless concrete situations, all differing in detail. When, for example, the "community reputation" or the "prestige rank" of some particular individual in a community is ascertained, the thought should be borne in mind that not all aspects of his situation can be generalized as attributes of a stratification structure. In fact, to the extent that one generalizes at all in regard to stratification structure, some loss of predictability or explanatory power for individual cases must be expected. The microscopic techniques of applied anthropology and sociometry may be actually misleading, if the intent is to derive general propositions about contemporary social structure, rather than idiographic understanding of particular communities. Stratification studies have typically concentrated on faithful description of the particular "systems" of social relationships which are to be found in concrete objects of study; whereas they are poorly designed—again no exceptions for the present case—to precipitate out the "structural" elements which, in part only, account for the manifestations of these systems.

The above data and theoretical considerations lead to a compound hypothesis which is worth the consideration of future research workers in this field: The social structure of the mass society implies a pattern of stratification based on socioeconomic and political power relationships and a system of invidious prestige values which are roughly uniform through-

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

out the society. Insofar as regions and localities are economically, ecologically, and politically specialized, variations in the general pattern of stratification will appear; but they are to be understood in the main precisely as specialized variants of the general pattern.[11] Stratification has important functions *in* the community, which can only be revealed by thorough community study, and which do not follow automatically from knowledge of stratification in the mass society. The concrete system of social relationships in a community will be conditioned not only by its stratification structure as a function of the mass society; it will also be conditioned by non-structural factors which may be more or less idiosyncratic, and which will, in turn, partly condition the observed functions of stratification in the community.

[11] Acknowledgment is made for the stimulating treatment of this problem in a paper by Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, XXVIII (May, 1950), 376-393. Before positing, as Kluckhohn does, a set of alternative cultural orientations for certain types of community as an explanation of their deviant stratification patterns, one should first be sure that the stratification patterns are actually different. In some respects the data above cast doubt on this supposition. In any case, the hypothesis of specialization seems more parsimonious than that of substitute cultures.

Serendipity* and the Rural-Urban Continuum

By Irving A. Spaulding†

ABSTRACT

Similarities which exist in folk music indigenous both to rural and to urban areas are evidence that characteristics which we customarily regard as rural-urban "differences" may be of similar significance to the behavior of people in those areas. This observation opens the way for constructive organization of raw data, for further research, and for the development of theory with a frame of reference constructed in terms of the similarities in the behavior of people living in rural and urban areas rather than in terms of rural-urban "differences" on which rest the current concepts of rural-urban "dichotomy" and "continuum." In our culture, which is gradually undergoing change from Aristotelian thought to non-Aristotelian thought, the development of such a frame of reference seems possible.

Through personal acquaintance with Mr. Jacob A. Evanson,[1] Special Supervisor of Vocal Music in the Pittsburgh Public Schools of Pittsburgh, Penna., the author has had an opportunity to become familiar with evidence which is pertinent to an evaluation both of the dichotomous concept "rural-urban" and of the concept "rural-urban continuum."[2] This evidence is the existence of "folk songs"

* Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 12 and 98.

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[1] The author is indebted to Mr. Evanson for critical comment and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

[2] See Neal Gross, "Sociological Variation in Contemporary Rural Life," *Rural Sociology*, XIII (September, 1948); C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1950), Chapter I, "The Nature of Social Systems."

dealing with urban industrial themes which have been created by industrial steel workers and retained for varying periods of time by "oral tradition" before being written down.[3] Mr. Evanson has in many cases made the first written score through his contact with the singers of these songs. Such titles as "The Twenty-Inch Mill," "In Soho on Saturday Night," "I'm a Labor Man," "The Homestead Strike," "Amalgamate as One," and "Song of Steel" indicate in a general way their indigenous urban industrial character as much as "Turkey in the Straw," "The Old Chisholm Trail," and "The Cowboy's Lament" are indicative of the rural settings from which those songs have come. This evidence appears to indicate that the creation of "folk songs"—a characteristic commonly regarded as "rural"—is an expressive behavior the performance of which is possible in "urban" areas as well as in "rural" ones. If this is a valid comment, the way appears to be opening for an examination of the development, validity, and significance of the sociological concepts of a "rural-urban dichotomy" and of a "rural-urban continuum."

In making this examination the author operates on the basis of two known assumptions: first, that the work of the social scientist is that of analyzing the operation of "social systems," i.e., "group(s) of individuals interacting with each other at a higher frequency than with non-members when the system is in operation,"[4] for purposes of generalization, prediction, and control; second, that the tenets of "psychology" are valid and that, hence, all human organisms operate in accord with the same general principles of dynamics. Consequently, in the light of these assumptions, to examine the work of the social scientists one is obligated by logic and by empirical evidence to regard them as human beings who are part of a "social system."

Crucial to the maintenance of the academic conceptualization of a rural-urban dichotomy or a rural-urban continuum is the maintenance of an emphasis on rural-urban "differences." This characteristic of regarding "rural" and "urban" as "different" from each other is one which permeates our society. Such colloquial expressions as "city slicker" and "country hick" as well as the academic concepts of "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft" or "mechanical and organic solidarity" attest in part to the validity of the above statement. Even among the members of the sociological profession there exists accepted recognition of "rural" and "general" sociologists. However, when one finds "folk music" of a similar idiom indigenous to "urban" and "rural" areas, one begins to sense that the "differences" are to be found not in the dynamics of the behavior of the people but in the manifestations of their behavior in the environmental context

[3] George Korson, *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949), "Folk Songs of an Industrial City" by Jacob A. Evanson.

[4] E. D. Chapple and C. E. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), p. 707. See also C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

with which they are involved.

As an example of one idiom prevalent in "rural" and "urban" folk music are songs of the "come all you—" tradition. Of these, "The Twenty-Inch Mill" is one:

"Come all you iron workers and listen to my song
It's all about the twenty-inch; I won't detain you long."

There is obvious similarity between this couplet and those of "Casey Jones;"

"Come all you rounders if you want to hear
The story of a brave engineer."

or of "Young Companions," a cowboy song:

"Come all you young companions, and listen unto me,
I'll tell you a story of some bad company."

and of "The Buffalo Skinners," also a cowboy song:

"Come all you jolly skinners and listen to my song,
There are not many verses, it will not detain you long."

There are also similarities which exist in tunes and in verse form. In many cases this reflects the work of an astute migrant minstrel or bard. Acknowledgedly this implies "cultural diffusion" from one part of the country to another and from rural areas to urban ones. The diffusion of "folk experience" not only geographically but also into the realm of "urbane respectability" has been evidenced during the past thirty years by such theatrical productions as Edna Ferber and Jerome Kern's "Show Boat" in 1927, Dubose Heyward and George Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess" in 1935, and Oscar Hammerstein and Richard Roger's "Oklahoma" in 1943. Further indication of this diffusion is to be found in the nation-wide popularity of Burl Ives. "In the late 30's and 40's President Roosevelt entertained the King and Queen of England with hillbilly singers and mountain dancers, Molly Jackson sang her Harlan County, Kentucky, ballads for the Beethoven Society, and Lead Belly sang his own creations at Town Hall. The Broadway musical show "Sing Out Sweet Land" and others were developed out of our folk song milieu and more serious operas have been made in our folk idioms. In a multitude of subtle and obvious ways our musical vernacular has permeated the statements at the symphonic levels, Roy Harris' Folksong Symphony being a massive example."[5]

However, if we go back to the "grass roots" of "folk experience," the crucial point seems to be that of how characteristics of idiom are retained irrespective of the environmental setting. "Culture lag" might be advanced as an explanation, but this would hardly account for the widespread uniformity in musical

[5] From a manuscript prepared by Mr. Evanson and read before the American Folklore Society and Folklore Institute of America in July of 1950.

idiom which seems to be retained quite consistently throughout the "grass roots" areas of "folk experience." Hence, taking into consideration the distribution of these characteristics geographically and through the "social structure," one wonders whether the operation of "rural" and "urban" social systems is as different as we have casually believed it to be. In a broad perspective on the "culture" of our country, are not the dynamics of the total system and of its subsystems similar? In other words, it would seem that the "creation of folk music" occurs according to the same principles of human behavior both in "rural" areas and in "urban" areas and the music is indigenous to the environmental setting in which the creator is involved. Hence it is possible to have such *apparently diverse* creations as "Turkey in the Straw" and "The Twenty-Inch Mill." The fact that we are prone to regard them as "different" reflects a bias which can be analyzed and clarified.

Essentially, this bias, which exists in spite of all that "science" has done for us, is a matter of "identification" with the "society" which we are studying; the question of whether the bias is conscious or unconscious is a relevant one, but the crucial point lies in the fact that the emphasis on "rural-urban differences" reflects identification with some grouping of people in the society and with the environmental context in which those people are involved.

Historically, the "day and age" in which "rural-urban" dichotomy and continuum have developed has been an era characterized by the rapid expansion and increase of settlement units which we call "cities." In essence, this has amounted to building an environment in which to live by routines other than those of "agriculture." The essential point to keep in mind, however, is that *even though "urban dwellers" constructed an environment in which to live "non-agriculturally," their behavior was performed in accord with the same principles by which the behavior of the "rural dweller" was performed.* The "urban" area—man made and man operated—constituted a manifestation of behavior. In a manner consistent with principles of behavior, the "rural dweller" recognized the "urban dweller" as *different from himself;* likewise, the "urban dweller" recognized the "rural dweller" as *different from himself.* But neither was a "scientist" who could look upon the totality of the situation and understand both the "rural dweller" and the "urban dweller" in terms of *the dynamics of human behavior common to the people in each environmental setting* and regard all of them as integral parts of a "social system."

Thus, in a "day and age" when our training as social scientists does not include the analysis of our personal biases which have been acquired in the experience of being reared and does not provide us with a comprehensive frame of reference, there is little probability that we would do other than learn to think and analyze in terms of the "common mode of

thought"—that of rural-urban "differences"—and to intellectualize our systematic surveys and observations with a dichotomy of "rural" and "urban."

This, however, is not the complete account; we have come to recognize that the "city" and the "country" are not as "different" as they once were. Although urban dwellers have learned many routines of behavior which are indigenous to their man-made environment, routines which have originated in a rural setting have not been wholly abandoned; most cities have, for example, a nine-month schooling period for children which is based on the rural characteristic of having the family available for work during the summer months. Further, there has been migration of people from urban areas into rural ones: rural non-farm population has increased and rural people who have lived in cities have returned to rural areas. There has been the distribution of "urbane ideas" through publications, the radio, and other techniques of communication. The merchandising of urban produced products in rural areas has brought about what we recognize as "similarities" in rural and urban areas, and the spatial range of "urban influence" has been extended with the development of rapid long-range transportation. In the light of the fusion of characteristics which has taken place, we recognize that the dichotomous concept "rural-urban" is not at this "day and age" a verifiable description of the empirical situation. Restricting our thinking to distinct "rural" and "urban" types does not make possible a classification of all the cases which can be shown to exist. This being the case, we have begun to think in terms of "continua" of relationship between the two types.[6]

This is a constructive venture for the social scientists for it evidences development of the capacity to think not only in terms of "either-or" but also in terms of "to what extent." It is part of the general change in "mode of thought" which is recognized as being a transition from "Aristotelian" to "non-Aristotelian" thought.[7] Constructive as this step may be, however, we can hardly look upon it as being the final definitive conceptual formulation necessary for analyzing and dealing with "social systems" in which the people have "rural" and "urban" characteristics.

There is indication that we are still thinking to some extent in terms of "Aristotelian" thought. *This is the fact that the use made of the concept of the continuum is still essentially that of classification.* The change from thinking in terms of a "rural-urban" dichotomy to thinking in terms of a "rural-urban" continuum amounts to replacing the rigid line of demarcation between the typological concepts of "rural" and "urban" with a continuum of demarcation and labelling

[6] In working with literature on "rural" communities, Gross has devised the concept "cultural isolation" as an "extreme" at the rural end of the continuum. See Neal Gross, *op. cit.*

[7] Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity* (New York: The International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Company, 1933).

the typological concepts as "polarities" at the extremes of the continuum. Hence, instead of classifying communities as being *either* rural *or* urban and placing them in one category or the other, when the social scientist works with the continuum he classifies selected characteristics *within one category* the bounds of which are the two "typological extremes" labelled "polarities."[8] In each case the scientist is classifying: with the dichotomy he classifies in terms of "absolute" categories; with the continuum he classifies within a "relative" category the "range" of which is established by the characteristics of its two typological extremes. In both cases the scientist classifies and does so on the basis of "differences." This evidence is perhaps as indicative as any of the transitional character of the "rural-urban continuum" concept; the concept itself is couched in the recognition of "relativities" while the technique used with it retains characteristics of practise and thought learned with "absolutistic" thinking; both concepts, the dichotomy and the continuum, rest upon the "biased" observation of "rural" and "urban" as "different" from each other.

If we recognize the transitional character of this development and its significance as part of the "culture" of our society, we are in a position to take constructive steps in furthering the development of the transition and of social science. Among the constructive steps which might be taken is an amplification of the "frame of reference" with which we work. The author suggests that this amplification be made by modifying the concept of a "social system" as described above so that the conception includes not only the "individuals who interact" but also the manifestations of their behavior in the environmental context with which they are involved. Hence, the definition of a "social system" as given by Chapple and Coon: a "group of individuals interacting with each other at a higher frequency than with non-members when the system is in operation"[9] might well be modified to read: a "group of individuals mutually involved in an environmental context and interacting with each other at a higher frequency than with non-members when the system is in operation."

The significance of this alteration lies in the fact that it gives the scientist a perspective which enables him to think of the human beings and the manifestations of their behavior as dynamically related in an integral unit in which the significance of the manifestations is in their relationship to the behavior of the human beings. In our incapacity to do this, since we have been hampered by unclarified identification with the society of which we are part, we have concentrated on comparing the manifestations of human behavior and have emphasized their differences. Consequently, in being confronted with

[8] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *op. cit.*, Part I, "The Nature of Social Systems;" or C. P. Loomis, "The Nature of Social Systems—A Typological Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, XV (June, 1950), 156.

[9] E. D. Chapple and C. E. Coon, *op. cit.*

"Turkey in the Straw" and "The Twenty-Inch Mill" one is apt to dismiss their implications with relative ease by saying "there are urban folk songs as well as rural ones." But if we restrict our unit of analysis on the basis of people's involvement with each other and with an environmental context, we can see that the songs, man-made buildings, the "pattern" with which trees are planted in an orchard, and a multitude of other features developed by man as he has manipulated his environment are manifestations of his behavior, and their significance for the operation of the social system lies in their involvement with the creatures who have made them and use them. Thus it is with the folk songs; thus it is with any manifestation of man's behavior.

We do not as yet have the answer to the question of how the manifestations are related to the dynamics of behavior. The answer to this question, however, is crucial to the effective practise of prediction and control; it is crucial to the development of social science. Recognition of this seems to open up an area of consequential investigation.[10] Development of research in this area would put social scientists in a position to evaluate manifestations of human behavior in terms of their *similarity in significance to the operation of the social system with which they are implicitly involved.* Even though we have assumed, for purposes of this paper, that all human beings behave according to the same principles of dynamics, we have little comprehension of the systematic development which would come by approaching the analysis of "social systems" in all environmental contexts in terms of the dynamic "similarities" implicit there rather than by interpreting their characteristics as "differences."

However, this appears to be the trend into which the development of social science has the possibility of turning. The constructive work implicit in the development of the "rural-urban continuum" concept has been instrumental in making that transition possible. In the continuation of this transition, comparisons[11] more relevant to the practise of prediction and control than those possible with either the dichotomy or continuum are yet to be developed; this can be done by using as criteria for the comparison of systems characteristics which are of similar significance to the operational dynamics of the social systems being compared. Such comparisons could also be expected to clarify more thoroughly our comprehension of the complex fusion of char-

[10] This involvement has been recognized by Thomas and Znaniecki who have analyzed it dichotomously in terms of "attitudes and values." See *The Polish Peasant in America* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1927). Further work which is exceedingly suggestive and thought provoking is to be found in W. Reich, *The Sexual Revolution* (New York: The Orgone Institute Press, 1945), and in C. Reinold Noyes. *Economic Man in Relation to His Natural Environment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

[11] We cannot expect to get out of the influence of "Aristotelian" thought in a short interval of time. The development mentioned in this sentence would also be a transitional step as is the development of the continuum concept.

acteristics which we have thus far oversimplified with our concepts of "rural-urban dichotomy" and "rural-urban continuum."

We may well facilitate our work in this development by taking some cues from the comments made above: first of all, we can amplify our conception of a "social system" so we think of a "group of individuals mutually involved in an environmental context and interacting with each other at a higher frequency than with non-members when the system is in operation;" second, we can investigate the question of how the manifestations of human behavior in a given environmental context are related to the operational dynamics of human behavior performed in that context; third, we can investigate the techniques necessary for using the characteristics of operational dynamics as criteria for comparing social systems. As a mere "drop in the bucket" relevant to the testing of the utility of these suggestions for research and for theory, we could, for example, systematically investigate the implication of "Turkey in the Straw" and of "The Twenty-Inch Mill" for the operation of the social systems in which they are indigenous.

Cultural Differences in the Acceptance of Recommended Practices*

By Harald A. Pedersen†

ABSTRACT

This is a comparative analysis of the adjustment of a Danish and a Polish ethnic group to the American culture in a dairy farming area in central Wisconsin. The adjustment is evaluated in terms of recommended farm practices. These practices are grouped under three major categories: (1) Livestock practices, (2) Cropping practices, and (3) Mechanization.

For every trait measured the Danish farm group exceeds the Polish group in the proportion who have adopted the selected recommended practices. The performance suggests that the Danish and Polish ethnic groups are different universes from the standpoint of behavior and reaction to recommended dairy farming practices. The Danish and the Polish groups constitute distinct culture complexes, or subcultures, within the North central Dairy region. The evidence of the study indicates that the cultural adjustments of the Danish group facilitate the introduction of new ideas, whereas the adjustments of the Polish group tend to perpetuate *status quo*.

The rate of acceptance and the factors influencing farm people to accept or reject specific recommended practices have been given considerable attention by research workers in rural sociology. In essence this is a study of culture change. Seen in this context there can be no pat answer to the question, "Why doesn't the farmer accept this practice?" Or more specifically, why do thirty percent of the farm people included in this survey still milk by hand? Is it because they do not have the money to buy the equipment? Is it because they prefer to spend their money for other things? Or is it because they consider machine milkers harmful to the dairy cows? The answers to these questions are culturally determined and though American rural society is considered relatively homogeneous there exist vast differences between regions and even within regions in the value systems which determine the reactions of farm people to specific practices.

The North Central Dairy area to a greater extent than any other rural region was settled by immigrant peoples. From 1870 to 1920 immigrant peoples from Germany, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, and numerous other countries came in large numbers. Despite the diverse origins of the people, the area in the course of two generations or less from the time of the initial settlement had become identified as

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* The data were collected by the author for the Wisconsin Experiment Station in the summer of 1947 while he held an appointment as Research Assistant from 1946 to 1948 while in the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin. For the complete anlyasis see Harald A. Pedersen, *Acculturation Among Danish and Polish Ethnic Groups in Wisconsin*, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), the University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1949. The comments and criticism of George W. Hill, William H. Sewell and others were invaluable to the author in developing the problem presented in this paper.

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a dairy area. Farm operators of whatever nationality had accepted dairying as the dominant enterprise on the farm. Nevertheless, research workers who sought to delineate homogeneous geographical sub-regions for the area frequently found greater diversity within an area or even within a county than was observed between the various sub-regions. Similarly, extension workers and others who came in contact with the people continued to find great diversity in farm life and in the response of farm people to specific recommendations.

The present study is a comparative analysis of the adjustment of two ethnic groups in this situation. The two groups, a Danish and a Polish group, constitute culture cores for the respective ethnic groups; that is, members of the ethnic group constitute a high proportion of all settlers in the given geographical area.[1] Each group represents a relatively homogeneous and unified value system and the reaction to specific recommended practices can be expected to follow a predictable pattern.

The center for the Danish group lies at the juncture of four square towns. At the time of its maximum density the farmsteads of Danish settlers constituted over 80 percent of the farms within a radius of four to five miles of the center. The density has declined somewhat since 1930, but Danish farmers still constitute more than 50 percent of all operators in the area. The Polish group covers the major portion of two towns with the greatest concentration in the southern half of one town and in the northern half of the other town. In this area Polish farm operators constitute over 80 percent of all farm operators.

The study approximates the requirements of an *ex post facto* experiment in that the factors, except ethnic background, which would result in differences in the cultural behavior with respect to recommended farm practices are held constant through the selection of contiguous groups. The two ethnic groups are located in the northeastern corner of Clark county in the Central Wisconsin dairy farming area. Spencer-Almena soils predominate and only the farms on the more level phases of these soils are included in the sample. Both groups look to Chicago as the primary market for their dairy products and to Milwaukee or Chicago for a market for surplus livestock. The educational facilities are supplied both groups by state supported rural schools. High school education is available in the village school in each center and the curricula of both include vocational agriculture. Home demonstration clubs, 4-H clubs, test demonstrations and other programs of the Agricultural Extension Service are available in both communities. Finally, both

[1] The concept of the culture core as applied to American ethnic groups was defined empirically to include townships in which members of the ethnic group constitute 80 percent of the farm family heads living in the towns in 1905. See Walter L. Slocum, *Ethnic Stocks as Culture Types in Rural Wisconsin*, Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), The University of Wisconsin, 1940. The concept has been further elaborated on by George W. Hill, Glen L. Taggart, Douglas G. Marshall, and others.

colonies were initiated with strong church support; the Danish colony in 1893 and the Polish in 1891, so that both groups have been exposed to this common social, economic, and physical environment over the same period in history. The primary variable is the ethnic background of the settlers.

Since there are fewer farmers of Danish origin in the survey area, the survey families for this group were selected first. The final enumeration of Danish families for which schedules were secured includes 20 male immigrant operators, 37 native born male operators, and two female operators. This represents a complete enumeration of the Danish farmers in the area who are actively engaged in farming. Three additional farm owners were contacted but not interviewed because they had sold out the entire inventory of livestock and equipment, but continue to live on the farm deriving a meager income from the rental of land.

A random sample of Polish operators, matched with the Danish survey group on the two criteria of nativity and sex, was then selected from the 157 Polish operators farming on Spencer-Almena soils in the survey area and a schedule was secured for each. Information was secured in the survey covering the performance of farm operators with respect to three major groups of practices: (1) Livestock practices or recommendations pertaining to the dairy herd, (2) cropping practices or recommendations pertaining to land use, and (3) mechanization. The latter category considers mechanization both from the standpoint of ownership of equipment and from the standpoint of the type of power used in specified operations.

Livestock Practices

Turning first to a consideration of livestock practices, the purebred registered cow is not a predominant feature in the Danish dairy farming culture, but the farmers tend to maintain a single strain of cattle in the herd. Whereas, only 9 percent of the herds include some registered cows, 61 percent have only one strain of cattle—47 percent of the herds are Holstein and 14 percent are Guernsey. Neither is the registered sire found in the bull pen on most of the farms since only 20 percent of the farmers have the services of a registered bull to breed all of their cattle, and nearly half of these do so by artificial insemination. Twenty percent of the farmers use artificial insemination to breed some or all their cows. The immigrant farmers surpass the native born operators in the proportion adopting each of the above practices. (Table 1)

The native born farmers participate in a regular milk testing program more frequently than the immigrant operators. Whereas, 17 percent of all Danish operators are members in the Dairy Herd Improvement Association in the county and 25 percent participate in a regular testing program either in the Association or elsewhere, 21 and 31 percent of the native born operators follow these practices. (Table 1) The differences in the per-

TABLE 1. PROPORTION OF FARMERS FOLLOWING RECOMMENDED PRACTICES IN LIVESTOCK ORGANIZATION AND HANDLING OF LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS AMONG DANISH AND POLISH ETHNIC GROUPS IN CLARK COUNTY, WISCONSIN, SURVEY.

	DANISH			POLISH		
	Total	Immigrant	Native born	Total	Immigrant	Native born
Single breed herd	61.0	85.0	48.7	28.8	10.0	33.3
Holstein	47.4	65.0	38.5	23.7	10.0	30.8
Guernsey	13.6	20.0	10.2	1.7	—	2.5
Registered cattle in herd	8.5	10.0	7.7	3.4	—	5.1
Registered bull	5.1	5.0	5.1	15.3	10.0	17.9
Artificial breeding	20.3	25.0	17.9	1.7	—	2.5
Milk testing program	25.4	15.0	30.8	22.0	10.0	28.2
DHIA Member	16.9	10.0	20.5	6.8	—	10.3

formance of the two sub-groups can be explained largely in terms of the difference in the stage of the farm cycle. The immigrant farmer with an average tenure of 26 years on the present farm is nearing retirement while the native born operator with 15 years tenure is in the process of building up the farm and the herd.

The Danish farmer does not go all out for purebred stock, but the evidence indicates that he is aware of the value of high grade stock and that he knows how to attain this objective. Purity of strain in the herd is a recognized cultural value in the group. A black cow in a herd of red Guernseys or a red cow in a herd of black and white Holsteins will provoke a caustic comment from Holstein or Guernsey enthusiasts, alike. The merits of the Holstein or Guernsey cow can be and are extolled at great length by the protagonists of each.

Pedigree and purity of strain in the dairy herd do not constitute values in the Polish culture. In short, to the Polish farmer a cow is a cow, regardless of pedigree. Only one farmer has all Guernsey cows in the herd and 24 percent have Holstein herds. Nearly all the farmers breed their cows to their own bull and only fifteen percent have registered bulls. Only one farmer breeds part of his herd by artificial insemination. Finally, 7 percent of the Polish operators are members in the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, and 22 percent make regular or sporadic tests of the production record of their cows either at the local cheese factory or in the vocational agriculture night school. (Table 1)

The native born farmer in the Polish group surpasses the immigrant in the acceptance of recommended practices for every practice measured. Though the general level of acceptance is low the differentials between immigrant and native born farmers indicate that the recommendations of agricultural leaders are gaining a more widespread hearing and acceptance in the Polish group than has been the case in the past years.

The comparison of the two ethnic groups with respect to their performance in the acceptance of recommended livestock practices shows that the Danish group surpasses the Polish

group in the proportion adopting each of these practices. The difference is statistically significant at the one percent level for two of the practices measured; namely, membership in the Dairy Herd Improvement Association and maintaining a single strain of cattle in the dairy herd. The difference is not statistically significant for the remaining four practices, but in each case a larger proportion of the Danish farmers have accepted the practice, and the sum of the Chi Squares reveals a statistically significant difference between the two groups for the entire configuration of recommended livestock practices.

Cropping Practices

The second major group of practices considered are those practices pertaining to land use. The list of practices discussed here is by no means exhaustive of all possible practices which have been recommended or could be followed profitably. The list as it appears in the schedule includes only those practices which the Extension Service has attempted to promote during the five-year period preceding the survey. During the interviewing even some of these were deleted since information about them among both groups was too scanty to warrant their use in the analysis. The final list as presented here includes only those practices which were found to have a high probability of acceptance; that is, even though the farm people were not following the practice they were familiar with it.

Nearly every dairy farmer in the Central Wisconsin Dairy Areas raises some oats to supply grain feed for the cows. Oats and corn silage are the primary supplementary feeds for the dairy herd. Early in the 1940's the Wisconsin Experiment Station developed a new high-producing and disease-resistant strain of oats, known as Vicland oats. Through the Seed Producers Association of the Experiment Station and Extension Service, Vicland oats were made available for general planting in 1942. Five years later in 1947 at the time of the survey 86 percent of the Danish farmers were planting this new strain. If only those farmers planting oats are considered, 95 percent planted Vicland. The proportion accepting is approximately the same for both sub-groups in the Danish ethnic group. However, the native born farmers were somewhat quicker to accept the new variety with 65 percent having used it for three years or more as compared to 56 percent for the immigrant group. (Table 2)

A four to five year rotation plan is the recommended rotation practice for the area depending on the amount of open land the farmer plans to use for pasture. In the Danish ethnic group 61 percent of the farmers have been following a fixed rotation plan for five years or more and all of these have adopted the four year rotation. Here, again, there is slight difference between the two sub-groups; but the immigrant operators are more likely to follow a four-year rotation plan than the native born operator and to have followed the practice for five years or more. (Table 2)

TABLE 2. PROPORTION OF FARMERS ADOPTING SPECIFIED RECOMMENDED PRACTICES AMONG DANISH AND POLISH ETHNIC GROUPS IN CLARK COUNTY, WISCONSIN, SURVEY.

	DANISH			POLISH		
	Total	Immigrant	Native born	Total	Immigrant	Native born
Seeding Vicland Oats	86.4	85.0	87.2	57.6	60.0	56.4
Seeding Vicland Oats for 4 years or more	50.8	45.0	53.8	27.1	25.0	28.2
Seeding Forvic Oats	—	—	—	6.8	5.0	8.1
Liming for 5 years or more	49.2	45.0	54.0	25.4	10.0	35.1
Fertilizing for 5 years or more	39.0	35.0	40.6	28.8	15.0	37.8
Four year rotation	61.0	65.0	59.0	22.0	15.0	25.6
Fixed rotation plan for 5 years or more	61.0	65.0	59.0	55.9	55.0	56.4

Both lime and commercial fertilizer are necessary to maintain the productivity of the soils in the area. Though not a prevailing practice 49 percent of the Danish operators have applied lime to the soils as needed for five years or more and 39 percent have been supplementing the barnyard manure with recommended applications of commercial fertilizer. Again the differences between the ethnic subgroups are insignificant though a higher proportion of the native born operators have adopted the recommendations with respect to lime and fertilizer.

Turning next to the performance of the Polish group, the majority of the farmers are planting Vicland oats. The proportion of the foreign born farmers using the variety is not significantly greater than the proportion among the native born farmers. Only about 40 percent in each group have been using the variety for three years or more. Furthermore, 17 and 20 percent, respectively, are planning to change to some other variety at the next planting. (Table 2)

Slightly over half of the farmers follow a fixed plan of rotation and have been following it for five years or more, but there is no concensus among the Polish farmers as to which plan of rotation is best adapted to the area. Four, five and six year plans are all prevalent among the Polish farmers. The recommended four year rotation plan is adhered to by 15 percent of the immigrant operators and 27 percent of the native born operators. (Table 2)

Though 54 percent of the Polish operators have adopted the lime and fertilizer recommendations for the area, there is a significant difference between the ethnic sub-groups since only 39 percent of the foreign born operators are participating in the program, as compared to 67 percent for the native born operators. Among those using lime and fertilizer, over 35 percent of the native born operators have been participating in the program for five years or more, whereas less than 15 percent of the foreign born operators have been participating for that long. (Table 2)

The Polish farm operators follow recommended cropping practices to a greater extent than was the case for recommended livestock practices. It should be noted in this connection that dairy farming is not indigenous to the Polish culture. Since his experience prior to migration was not with dairy cattle or livestock, the Polish farmer would have no basis upon which to evaluate observed and recommended practices for livestock management. In contrast, he would have a basis for evaluating cropping and land use practices. The Polish immigrant started farming in the Thorp community with some knowledge about how to grow crops and what constituted sound cropping practices. However, dairy farming was already developing in the area and the Polish farmer added dairy cows to the barnyard livestock. Whether due to cost or lack of knowledge he paid little attention to the pedigree of the animals. As was noted earlier this characteristic has persisted, and their performance on recommended livestock practices is below their performance on recommended cropping practices.

The same relationship between the two ethnic groups as was observed for recommended livestock practices exists with respect to cropping practices. A significantly greater proportion of the Danish operators than of the Polish operators have planted Vicland oats for three years or more, were following a four year rotation program, and were using lime on the soil. Each of the practices measured is a recommended practice for the area. A greater proportion of the Danish operators also planted Vicland oats in 1947, had used commercial fertilizer for five years or more, and had followed a fixed rotation plan for five years or more, but the difference between the Danish and the Polish operators in this respect is not statistically significant. Considering the total configuration of cropping practices, the Danish farmers have adopted recommended practices to a significantly greater degree than the Polish operators.

Mechanization

The final group of practices for which observations were secured is the extent to which power driven equipment has replaced hand labor or horse power in the performance of selected operations. For this purpose information was secured on ownership of tractors and the source of power for the main seasonal and daily operations on the farm.

Among the Danish operators 71 percent own tractors. The native born operators are more likely to own tractors than the immigrant operators, and they are more likely to use tractor power for each of the selected operations. Milking is the only operation for which a smaller proportion of the native born operators use power equipment. (Table 3)

The smaller proportion of immigrant operators who use tractors in field operations is predominantly a function of the smaller operation in terms of cropland. Since the immigrant operators are in the process of retrenchment many of them have

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF FARMERS USING POWER EQUIPMENT ON SPECIFIED OPERATIONS AMONG DANISH AND POLISH ETHNIC GROUPS IN CLARK COUNTY, WISCONSIN, SURVEY.

	DANISH			POLISH		
	Total	Immigrant	Native born	Total	Immigrant	Native born
Plowing	72.9	60.0	79.5	59.3	35.0	71.8
Seeding and Planting	32.2	20.0	38.5	23.7	5.0	33.3
Cultivating	32.2	15.0	41.0	28.8	—	43.6
Haying	66.1	60.0	69.2	44.1	20.0	56.4
Harvesting Grain	57.6	45.0	64.1	45.8	30.0	53.8
Cutting corn	49.2	35.0	56.4	28.8	20.0	33.3
Silo Filling	25.4	25.0	25.6	18.6	15.0	20.5
Milking	67.8	70.0	66.7	66.1	70.0	62.2

found it feasible to hire a large portion of the work done, rather than to replace their equipment with more modern equipment. This is mostly true in regard to plowing and cultivating. A few of them have had the grain combined, thus further cutting down on the man labor required on the farm. The younger native born operator does the work himself with his own equipment largely because he has an ample labor supply on the farm and feels he might as well use it.

Few of the immigrant farmers have plans for further mechanization of the operations on the farm, only 31 percent as compared to over 54 percent for the native born operators. The immigrant operator as stated above, characteristically, is in the process of retirement and plans to get along with the already accumulated equipment as long as he remains in farming. In contrast, the native born farmer has just reached or is building up to maximum production on the farm and is looking for ways in which to increase production or to increase available leisure time through modern improvements in equipment and farming techniques.

The farms operated by Polish farmers are less mechanized than the farms operated by Danish farmers. Only 59 percent of the Polish operators own tractors. The proportion of native born operators owning tractors is over twice that for immigrant operators. A considerably larger proportion of the native born operators use power equipment for each of the selected operations with again the single exception of milking. Thirty-eight percent of the native born operators milk by hand as compared to 30 percent of the immigrant operators. (Table 3)

Custom work is prevalent in the area, primarily because the operator who would agree to do custom work was able to obtain a priority for the purchase of equipment. The practice of having the tractor work done still persists in seeding and cultivating operations in which the time saved on the operation is most noticeable, and the time required on the part of the owner of the equipment is not excessive. Only 12 percent, 5 and 14, respectively, of the foreign born and

native operators do custom work with their equipment.

Technological improvement — the quest for better equipment, better products, and better methods of farming—is an important aspect of American farm culture. Both the Danish group and Polish group surpass the national average and the state average in the proportion of operators who own tractors. Though more of the Danish operators, 71 percent, than of the Polish operators, 59 percent, own tractors, the difference between the two is not statistically significant.

However, if utilization, rather than ownership, is used as a criterion, a greater proportion of the Danish operators use power driven equipment in the performance of eight selected operations on the farm. The difference between the Polish and the Danish group is statistically significant for two operations, haying and cutting corn. Furthermore, considering all operations the Danish farms are significantly more mechanized than the Polish farms.

Cultural Determinants of Acceptance Rates

For every trait measured the Danish farm operators exceed the Polish farmers in the proportion who have adopted the selected recommended practices. Though the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant for each practice, the direction is consistent. Furthermore, for each of the three groups of practices measured, the Danish farmers have adopted recommended practices to a significantly greater extent than the Polish operators.[2]

This performance suggests that the Danish and the Polish ethnic groups constitute different universes from the standpoint of behavior or reaction to recommended dairy farming practices. The attitudes and values of the Danish group are different from the attitudes and values of the Polish group. The Danish and Polish groups, in short, represent distinct culture complexes or sub-cultures within the North Central Dairy Region. The nature and extent of these differences may be clarified through a brief summary of the cultural antecedents of each ethnic group.

The Danish farmer in his native European habitat, during the last quarter of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century was developing an intensive commercial dairy farming economy. This was also the period of rural enlightenment in Danish history. It was the period during which the folk high school and adult education for rural people reached its greatest development. The

[2] This contradicts the findings presented in a study of the acceptance of hybrid seed corn in Iowa in which the authors conclude that "(the) findings are wholly inconclusive regarding any differences between (nationality) stocks in their receptivity to hybrid corn." Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross, *Acceptance and Diffusion of Hybrid Corn Seed in Two Iowa Communities*, Iowa AES Research Bulletin 372 (Ames, January, 1950), p. 690. This is one of the few studies of the acceptance of recommended practices which includes an ethnic control in the analysis. However, the study was not designed primarily to uncover ethnic differences and did not include "cultural islands" or culture cores, such as the two groups under observation in this study.

central theme of this movement may briefly be summarized as consisting of the development of a "real spiritual fellowship between people of the same descent, the same way of thought, the same purpose in life . . . a historical fellowship between past, present and future, and a social fellowship which transcends all class differences."[3]

The late 19th and early 20th century was also the period during which Danish emigration to the United States reached its highest peak. The extent to which the folk school philosophy was a part of the life and thought of the layman who settled in the survey community is demonstrated by a brochure published by a group of farmers who constituted themselves as a settlement association. The appeal to settlers was made in terms of the adaptability of the area for dairy farming emphasizing, further, that "the forest does not offer you riches, but security. It does not offer great diversity of experience, but health and a simple community life. It enables you to realize your dream of a free and independent position for yourself and a good, healthy home for your growing children." And finally, ". . . the strong ethnocentrism of the population will assure the persistence of the Danish character of the colony."[4]

Not riches, not diversity of experience, but a sound economy, security, a simple community life and above all a spiritual fellowship,—these were the things that mattered in the opinion of the early settlers.

In terms of specific attributes the Danish farmers valued education, not necessarily formal education, but enlightenment. This is attested to by the persistence of the reading circle, the frequent attendance at public forums and lectures in the community hall, and in the later generation by the high educational attainment achieved by the children. For both the native born and the immigrant group, the mean educational level attained by the children was in excess of 12 years of school attendance. The daughters averaged two years beyond high school and the sons completed high school. The emphasis placed on participation in social and cultural activities is further attested to by the participation index which shows an average participation for the adult members of the family in 3 or 4 organizations in addition to church membership.

Finally, the Danish farmer valued independence — that is, individual freedom—very highly; so much so that few farmers when asked about their plans and aspirations for their children would give a specific answer as to the occupational choice they hoped their sons or daughters would make. The answer to the question was usually phrased somewhat in these terms: "Well, now, that's up to him and even if I had some preference

[3] Peter Maniche, *Denmark, a Social Laboratory* (Copenhagen: 1939), p. 87 (footnote 1).

[4] Translated by this writer from *Den Danske Koloni ved Withee, Wisconsin.* Brochure published by "Den Danske Koloniforening," Withee, Wisconsin.

as to his choice he most likely would not follow it."

In summary, it may be stated that the attitudes and values expressed by the Danish farm people create a climate that is amenable to culture change. Furthermore, many recommended practices in the Wisconsin Dairy farming area were proven and accepted adjustments in the Danish dairy culture and became recommended practices as a result of their proven effectiveness.

Pride in the herd, in pedigree and in production records are accepted values. Innovations are evaluated in terms of sound management principles and in terms of the extent to which they will enhance the independence and the freedom of the individual.

In contrast, the Polish immigrant in his native homeland was a subsistence farmer. For generations he had experienced a very tenuous balance between subsistence and privation. The Polish nation had been under the dominance of foreign rulers for generations. The Polish people were an oppressed or, at least, a subject people.

Security became a highly desired objective to these people and it was attained through the development of strong family solidarity. The mortgage-free family homestead became the symbol of security and the means to the attainment of security. Every member of the family contributed to maintaining the homestead mortgage-free and inviolate.

The Polish immigrant operator in the survey area did not come directly from Poland. The very nature of the promotional scheme by which settlers were secured for the area assured that the settlers would come to the area from industrial employment in the Great Lakes industrial centers. More frequently than not the farmstead was bought sight unseen and the forty acre plot of cut over land was a far cry from the intensively cultivated homestead he remembered from Poland. Even now, 30 to 40 years after settling in the area, several interviewees complained they had been cheated by the agent or by relatives who sold them the land. Nevertheless, the settlement area offered the primary physical requirements for the attainment of security, namely, land. Frugality, hard work, long hours and cooperative endeavor on the part of the family all contribute to making it a mortgage-free homestead.

These traits still characterize the Polish farmer. The family homestead is still the economic responsibility of all members of the family. One son or son-in-law is expected to and usually does take over the responsibility for the operation of the farm when the parent is unable to do the work. Children, and even siblings, working in the city or living elsewhere frequently return to help with haying, harvest or silo filling. During periods of adversity the family homestead becomes a haven of refuge to sons, daughters, and even siblings.

The mortgage is still shunned by the Polish farmer, immigrant and na-

tive born alike. Even the pension mortgage by which the farm is frequently passed from father to son is considered a threat to his security by the young operator. The consensus was expressed by one operator who had settled the pension mortgage for cash and even so continued to support his mother. When questioned his response was: "Oh, this is her home. She can stay here as long as she lives or as long as she wants to. But I don't want a mortgage hanging over my head. Yes, sir, I'm sure glad I got out from under that mortgage."

This response embodies the conflict between the old and the new, between the traditional and the contractual which permeates the Polish culture as the people seek to adjust to the emerging culture of the subregion. There is a strong family solidarity and there is suspicion of persons outside the family group. The suspicion sometimes is transferred to intra-family relations as when the contractual pension mortgage replaces the traditional informal agreement between father and son. The traditional controls have broken down and some parents, at least, have found it necessary to make explicit the duties and responsibilities of the inheriting son in the form of a contractual agreement.

In terms of specific attributes the cultural orientation of the Polish farmer has resulted in a very low participation index score. The mean score on the participation scale indicates limited participation in less than two organizations other than the church. The mean educational attainment of the children, 9 years in attendance, is barely equivalent to the attendance required under the compulsory attendance laws of the state.

The dairy herd, production records, pedigree have little or no status value in the community. One farmer, who had a model farm when evaluated in terms of conservation, herd pedigree, and production records, was frequently sneered at, "He farms by the book. He'll never make any money that way." Judging by the comparative figures on the acceptance of recommended practices, the Polish farmer has rejected numerous improvements on grounds other than the principles of sound management. Mechanization, conservation, herd improvement and home conveniences have to wait until the farm mortgage is paid—frequently, until the equipment or improvements can be paid for in cash.

The extent of the differences between the Danish and Polish ethnic groups may be re-emphasized by summarizing the specific attributes of each group.

The Danish farmer values education, whereas the Polish farmer places greater confidence in home training. The latter attitude tends to perpetuate the established way of performing specified operations.

The orientation of the Danish farmer is out-going and community centered, whereas that of the Polish farmer is family centered. The former orientation opens up avenues of communication with outside agencies, thereby facilitating the dissemination

of information in the farm community, whereas the latter tends to block the dissemination of information.

Finally, the value placed upon independence and individual freedom in the Danish group tends to facilitate the acceptance of new farming practices by making a relatively complete break in operations between father and son, leaving the son free to try out new adaptations. In the Polish group, in contrast, transference of the farm from father to son is a gradual process which is tied to the training or apprenticeship of the son in farming. The son becomes the owner when he has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the father that he can operate the farm in the manner in which tradition has proven effective.

In short the culture of the Danish group facilitates the introduction of new ideas, whereas the culture of the Polish group tends to perpetuate the *status quo*.

The Changing Rural Community in Sweden

By David E. Lindstrom†

ABSTRACT

A major change in local governmental units in Sweden reducing the number of local units, called communes, from 2,500 to about 900 has been authorized by the Swedish parliament to be completed by 1952. This is the first major change in local governmental units in over 200 years.

The change became necessary when new social services increased in number and importance, each of which is organized to be locally administered through the commune. The new act of Parliament places 2,000 population as a minimum for a commune; at present many, especially in southern Sweden, have as few as 300 population.

A significant fact about the change to larger communes in Sweden is the change from primary to secondary group organization and control of local government. It will result in a much higher quality of professional social services as most communes, under the new plan, will be able to hire qualified administrators. What will happen to the participation and interest of the rank and file of citizens in their local government when thus removed from first-hand or primary types of control remains to be seen.

The Swedish parliament approved a measure in 1948 to reduce the number of local governmental units from 2,500 to about 900 by 1952. The fact that such drastic changes can be made in local government in so short a time, and that the job was authorized by parliament and is being carried through by a national governmental agency is of real interest to students of forces bringing about social change. It is all the more interesting when it is pointed out that the change is the first major change in local government for over 200 years, and that real efforts are being made to

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use democratic methods to get the changes made satisfactorily.

The local governmental unit in Sweden, the commune, is not only the basic local governmental unit, but for all practical purposes it is the basic sociological unit as well. In rural areas, especially, the commune may be the same as our rural community, or the smaller ones may even have characteristics similar to the neighborhood in rural areas of the United States. In addition to providing for governmental functions the commune serves as a local school administrative unit, and certain social welfare activities are carried on within it. Governmental, social, school, forest management, land control and other functions have grown to the place that in the smaller communes as many as half the population is needed to fill the various board and committee positions.

In most communes there are one or more villages. These, as will be seen later, grew out of the "big farm" or village-centered farm community. They were and still are the neighborhoods of Sweden which most closely approximate the neighborhoods in rural areas in the United States. Most communes have at least one and usually several of these villages or hamlets within its boundaries; the state churches, one for each commune, usually serve the several hamlets of the commune.[1]

[1] The Swedish term "byn" refers to village or hamlet and is the smallest type of population center in the country, often being made up of only a few farmsteads. There often are several of these "byn" in a single commune.

The use of popular assemblies as a means for discussing and deciding issues is an old method in Sweden, dating back to before the time of the medieval parishes. They probably came out of the earlier pagan or tribal life, and they gave the people a sense of autonomy that has never been lost, especially in rural areas. The coming of Christianity in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries[2] simply superimposed this new form of social organization upon the old, substituting the Christian for the pagan philosophy, but retaining many of the old forms of association and leader-follower relations.[3]

Sweden was an agricultural country when her present form of local government was developed and took definite form. Even as late as 1800 when the communes were quite definitely crystallized, only 224,000 of the 2,347,000 inhabitants lived in towns. Community living had developed around "two universal human needs —defense against enemies from without and the preservation of law and order from within."[4] The exercise of religion was an important common interest which bound the people together into active local groups. The church farmstead came to be the

[2] Andrew A. Stromberg, *A History of Sweden* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), Chapter V.

[3] From personal conference with Mats Rehnberg, Curator, Nordic Museum, Stockholm, February 1950. See also Albert Eskeröd, "Arets Äring," *Nodiska Museets Handlinger*, XXVI (Stockholm, 1949), 359-360.

[4] Karl Höjer, *Social Welfare in Sweden* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1949), p. 7.

place of barter and exchange, and "news" and announcements of important happenings for the community were often given out at the meeting. All baptisms, marriages, funerals and similar rites were performed at the church. The church pastor was made responsible for the literacy of his parishioners; and by the end of the sixteenth century the church had begun to keep records of births, deaths, and the movement of people in and out of communes, whose boundaries by this time were definitely fixed, especially in southern and central Sweden.

The church parish or commune came naturally to be the unit for the administration of local governmental functions—it was a natural unit, that is, the unit around which the people came naturally to assemble. The evolution was from the old church councils to the commune councils, these being the next larger unit than the "byn" or hamlet council. In the commune council the several hamlets or villages found collective expression for their desires regarding the parish or commune as a whole. The church had set up its own council when the governmental functions were taken from it, and this council handled matters of morals and group and individual behavior. By the end of the seventeenth century "the church devoted a great deal of its time and energy to the enforcement of disciplinary measures. Failure to attend church on Sundays, tardiness at church services, or departure before the final benediction had been spoken, were alike punishable by fines."[5] Thus it may be said that the villages formed the center of neighborhood life, and the communes made up the community of villages working together for the common interests of all in the community.

As modern society developed, the communes were assigned more numerous and important functions. The public elementary schools were established in 1842 and were administered by a commune school board appointed by the council. Communal elections were made the basis for choosing representatives in the Second House of Parliament. Poor relief and other welfare activities were assigned to commune committees appointed by the commune council.

The old village-centered rural neighborhoods changed as new land reforms were passed in the last half of the 18th century. These reforms were directed at eliminating the strip farming system and the constant division of strips between the heirs, to a field system which carried with it the movement of farmsteads out upon the land. This occurred in all parts of Sweden except in Dalecarlia where the farmers resisted the imposition of the new reforms and continued to live in villages. The system of local government changed, also, as the village assemblies and meetings declined, and the system of electing representatives to the commune council by popular vote was introduced. These became the commune council and it appointed all other committees and boards need-

[5] Stromberg, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

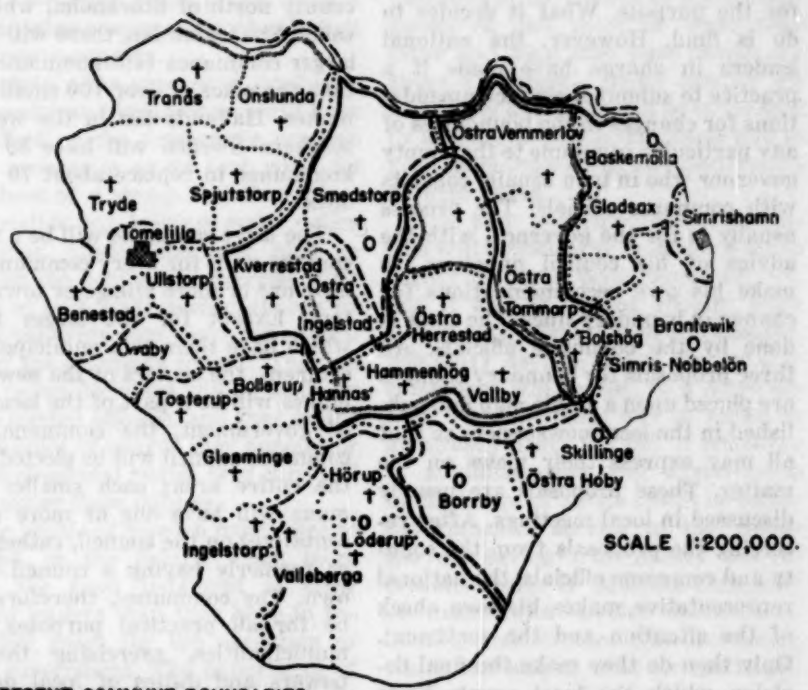
ed to carry out local governmental functions, such as for schools, care of the sick and the needy, child welfare, old age pensions, roads, and in some cases, unemployment, temperance and provision for domestic help for the needy. In the smaller communes the elected council members often actually took care of these duties, but in the larger ones special committees or boards were appointed, or trained personnel hired for the administration of the functions.

The present division of the country embraces 24 counties or "län" which are in turn divided into communes. Provinces are the ancient, original sections of Sweden; they are geographical and ethnological units, and to these most Swedes pledge their sectional sentiments and loyalties. There may be found differences in dialect between the people of the various provinces, but actually the provinces no longer have any governmental influence. The real governmental unit smaller than the national unit is the "län." It is much larger, in most cases, than a similar unit or county in the United States. Its council or "länsting" is made up of representatives elected in the various communes active within its boundaries. Intermediate between the "län" and the commune is the judicial district, the "härad"; to the farming population and the historians the "härad" is an important unit, and national statistics are reported for each commune, subtotalled for the "härad" and carried to a total for the "län."

Sweden has made significant progress in social welfare legislation. As new governmental functions have developed, it has been the policy to decentralize administration as much as possible; hence with each new provision a new local official or commune committee was called for. With the present division of counties into communes based on conditions prevailing in medieval times the communes were small. Today in southern Sweden, especially, there are many communes with but 100 or 200 people. Communes in northern Sweden, formed later in the country's history, are larger and some quite populous. Because of the increased governmental functions it seemed necessary to change the size of the local governmental units to a size capable of administering needed services. Laws now in force call for up to 30 different administrative offices in one commune. A commune of 300 population would need at least 15 and probably 30 official bodies. The rural communes averaged about 1,600 people in 1945. Of 2,343 communes 2,055 had fewer than 3,000 inhabitants, and over a fifth had fewer than 500.

The 1946 Riksdag approved a proposal, long brewing, to merge the smaller communes into larger ones, making the minimum area one embracing at least 2,000 people. This reorganization is now taking place all over the country, and it is to be completed by 1952. It is an epochal change for it will be the first widespread change in local governmental units in Sweden in 200 years. It means that the number of communes must be

Southeast Portion of Kristianstads Län



reduced by at least two-thirds if none is to have fewer than 2,000 population.

The order for the change was an act of parliament and calls for no referendum or direct vote. However, before the act was passed there was widespread discussion of the proposal, and it may be taken for granted that the members of parliament

voted for it only if they felt a majority of their constituency was favorable.

The law is now being administered by a special department of the national government, set up especially for the purpose. What it decides to do is final. However, the national leaders in charge have made it a practice to submit their recommendations for changes in the boundaries of any particular commune to the county governor who in turn usually consults with commune officials. The process usually is for the governor, with the advice of his council members, to make his own recommendations for change in boundary lines. The same is done by the commune officials. All three proposals for boundary changes are placed upon a single map and published in the local newspapers so that all may express their views on the matter. These proposals are usually discussed in local meetings. After receiving the proposals from the county and commune officials, the national representative makes his own check of the situation and the sentiment. Only then do they make the final decision which the local people know will be binding.

The national, county, and local officials are making their changes, significantly, on the basis of present commune boundaries; no commune will be divided between two larger communes. All of the people in a particular small commune which happens to be on the border of a proposed larger commune, will be placed, therefore, as a unit in one or another of the new larger communes.

Since work is now in progress in various parts of the country some small communes have already been consolidated into larger ones. In the county north of Stockholm, which is called Stockholm län, there will be 45 larger communes (storkommuner) to take the place of over 100 small communes. Hallands län in the west of southern Sweden will have 39 storkommuner to replace about 70 small ones.

The large commune will be a town-country unit, for every commune will have one or more village or town centers. Except for the larger towns which have their own municipal government, the centers of the new communes will be a part of the local unit of government, the commune. The commune council will be elected from the entire area; each smaller commune will have one or more representatives on the council, rather than as formerly having a council of its own. The communes, therefore, will be for all practical purposes rural municipalities, exercising the full powers and duties of local government in town and country in the area enclosed in the commune boundaries.

Sociologically, the change will mean a change from primary to secondary group controls, a change which has already made considerable progress in other forms of organization in the country. The small commune in Sweden was, as was pointed out, often a neighborhood unit; people in it knew each other first hand. In the larger

commune, control can be once or twice removed from the people. Rather than electing an entire council for their small commune as it now is, these people will elect only one man, if that, to a large commune council; or they may have their votes pooled with a neighboring commune for the election of a representative.

Certainly the process of local governmental unit enlargement will have an effect on the democratic process. This process is at its best when all members of a group feel themselves responsible for helping make policy decisions. Under the new plan in Sweden the people will exercise their right to help make such decisions by vote once every four years for a member of the commune council. Then all local policy decisions will be made by these elected officials, and they or the committees or boards they appoint or the professional people they hire will administer these policies.

The people of Sweden must come to depend, in the future, much more upon the good judgment of their elected leaders than they have in the last 200 years for the operation of local government. The importance of the local commune council will be much greater than at present. By the very nature of the new organization and the increased complexity of the new duties, these councils will be forced to rely on their own collective judgment rather than to resort to the "voice of the people" for helping make such decisions. Obviously there is always the possibility of carrying on polls to test opinion, but the usual procedure probably will be for the members of the council to make judgments on the basis of what they think and what they hear people say about a proposal. Being elective officers they doubtless will be influenced by a desire to please the people and to keep them supporting the incumbents by their votes.

The new governmental organization will doubtless provide for a much higher quality of professional service, and it will, of course, require more money. The advantage of contributed, voluntary service under the smaller communes will be lost, to a large extent. The new costs will be added to an already heavy tax bill. If efficiency in administration and effectiveness in discharge of duties result in better governmental service to the people the net saving may justify the increased costs. If political chicanery or interference causes maladministration and preferential treatment, which can happen when too much control is taken out of the primary group and placed in the hands of a secondary or tertiary group leadership, the costs to society and to freedom may be higher than is justified by the higher costs.

Rural Sociology in a Chaotic World*

By Bruce L. Melvin†

In 1938 an article appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* entitled, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," written by the current president of the International Sociological Association, Dr. Louis Wirth. One of the most significant statements in this article was:

> The influences which cities exert upon the social life of man are greater than the ratio of urban population would indicate, for the city is not only in ever larger degrees the dwelling place and the workshop of modern man, but it is the controlling center of economic, political and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos.

This succinct generalization, especially pertinent when studying the cities indigenous to Western culture, implies a certain delineation in scope for consideration of "Rural Sociology in Our Chaotic World." The rural sociologist wants to know the influence of ruralism, in contra-distinction to urbanism, on the life of certain non-urban groups. Though city life may be more spectacular than rural life, and that which modern Americans most often see, especially when collecting pictures in a foreign country, as I have observed them doing on four continents, I am sure it is the rural groups among different peoples, and the relation of the agricultural masses to the city dwellers who are increasingly tied to a machine and a time clock, that the sociologists least understand. Moreover, though the dominating motive among many people who live close to the soil may be to force food from that soil, I am sure that not all of them in all lands live by bread alone.

It is a fundamental function of rural sociologists to study the masses of people in the world who live close to the soil. But to study such people in a scientific manner, and not merely to report on them after the pattern of a travelogue, is a challenge to sociological scientific methodology and to astuteness in analysis and interpretation of data.

It is pertinent at this meeting, therefore, to suggest the specific area of study which may be called *rural* and to which, accordingly, sociologists in all countries may advantageously direct their efforts. Knowledge of the segment called *rural* is fundamental to an understanding of the whole of society. In trying to define *rural*, I am looking for an expression that will be as serviceable in the United States as in Switzerland, as good in North Africa as in Denmark, as applicable

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† University of Maryland.

in China and Korea as in South American countries where some of our leading American sociologists have made valuable studies.

The Rural

The sociologists in the United States have followed a statistical definition for *rural*, thus confining their research efforts largely to that area outside incorporated places having a population of 2,500 and above. Thus by definition their frame of reference has been basically statistical rather than sociological, and most of their attention has been given to farm people and villagers. Perhaps this was somewhat opportunistic since it is in connection with the state and national appropriations for agriculture that their support comes. By reason of this limitation certain fields of research which undoubtedly would yield important findings, as for example, towns having a population of 2500 to 25,000, have been largely neglected by the sociologists. Yet in places of such size there are many families and other groups that are closely related to farm and village populations. I would like, therefore, to suggest that a proper realm of study for any sociologist interested in the fundamental dynamics of society should be the people who make a living from the soil and those who serve them in face-to-face or primary group contacts. This then would be the field for the rural sociologist. This position assumes as axiomatic that the way people make their living is basic in all their social relations, including social interactions.

An American making a study of the relations between a city of more than a hundred thousand and the surrounding villages in Germany suggested two criteria for delimiting the rural: 1) whether or not the streets of the village were empty during the working hours of the day, except for the geese, and 2) the presence of piled manure. These criteria, with minor modifications, are about as good for determining what is rural in the world outside the United States as is our own statistical norm.

If we accept the position that what is rural should be determined primarily by occupation, then the locale for rural studies in most parts of the world is villages and towns from which the men and women go to the surrounding fields day after day through the planting, cultivating, harvesting and manuring times. Here live the hundreds of millions of people in the world whose lives are determined by the rhythms of the seasons; their fields provide their food—their life. These workers of the *Good Earth* are primarily dependent on the sun, wind, rain, and their own efforts as well as on the soil. Their thoughts are directed toward feeding their families and their cows and oxen, not on distant markets or on an impersonal price system. Moreover, the villages, especially in the Far East, count themselves as belonging to that continuum of nature that includes all their ancestors and their descendants. That indeed is a basic fact which determines how these people will act both in the short and in the long run.

The American sociologist visiting the villages of Germany is struck by the presence of beautiful objects of religious art, a frequent reminder that these villages were once the centers of the cultural complex that characterized the country. Indeed, passion plays were not unique to Oberammergau when that little village made its pledge to give the play once every ten years. Village churches with their picturesque domes and steeples, their statuary depicting past and present religious beliefs and emotional dependence and loyalties, and their paintings of God, angels and saints, as well as knights of battle, all condition the group activities and the emotional values of the people. I am sure that the presence of these structures, with the theology their imagery teaches, helped greatly to make possible the rise of a madman who threw the world into war for the second time in one generation. Thus I would emphasize the conviction that has been growing on me, namely, that a most crucial starting point in understanding the conditioning factors in any country's political, economic, and internal affairs, and perhaps including also its external struggles, is the study of the sociology of the people who make their living from the soil and those who are closely associated with them.

Study Should be Functional

This leads to another important point: the study of people living close to the soil should have a constructive purpose—it should be functional. Sociologists have been especially anxious that their published findings would be recognized as equally scientific with those of the phsycists, biologists and chemists. Of course sociologists should spare no efforts to be scientific, yes, even to the point of mathematical accuracy. But the first consideration in the study of people close to the soil is to find in the long run the extent to which the ill-fare or welfare of a people will make them subject to demogogic leadership or will help condition their determination to guide their own destiny. In fact much of the research in rural sociology in the United States has had as its purpose helping the people to determine their own welfare and their place in the larger society. Perhaps this is an ethical value but for that I make no apology.

Rural sociology arose in the United States following the report of the American Country Life Commission early in the twentieth century. This Commission, which was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt to study farm life, reported that the rural schools were lagging behind the development of the city schools, that certain farm areas were in process of depopulation, that in many respects farm people were disadvantaged in comparison with city dwellers. Out of the resultant drive to better rural conditions rural sociology came into existence as a discipline in college teaching and as a subject for research supported by funds made available through the agricultural experiment stations. Increasingly the subject became func-

tional. Its findings were used, along with those of other fields of research, by the Cooperative Extension Service in the educational program for farmers.

Hence it may be said that the major contributions of the rural sociologists of the United States to the sociologists in other parts of the world who may wish to study the rural are primarily in point of view and may be summarized thus: 1) motivation for studies must be basically and immediately functional, which includes practical application of the findings; 2) to be functional the studies of the people must be done on the ground where the people live.

The European sociologists, such as that pioneer thinker, Max Weber, his brother Alfred Weber, whom I lately had the good fortune to meet, Simmel and Von Wiese, have been penetrating observers of society; they have laboriously shown us the roots of our capitalistic culture, they have perceived the fact that a man with many and temporary contacts will be a different personality than one who lives in repetitive contactual relations within primary groups. The students of European society may have seen the significance of a class society with the agricultural people near the bottom, but that did not stimulate the tillers of the soil to organize to lift their own standards of living, provide more education for their children, or even secure for themselves the benefits of the scientific findings in respect to food production and agriculture. The same may be said about the sociologists in the Japanese universities, though in making reference to them I am happy to say that I have great respect for their ability to work and their scholastic accomplishments. But on the whole their knowledge was largely for its own sake.

Students of rural life in any country may therefore aim at helping the people whom they study to know their own problems and by such knowledge raise their standards of life and living, help them to understand what is involved in population pressures on food and other necessities, and help them to take an intelligent part in the economic, educational and political life of their country. In most of the world the food producers have *followed* the rulers instead of *telling* the rulers what to do. In most countries political life, including internal and external conflicts, has run its course for the most part without reference to the tillers of the soil excepting when they were called upon to provide men and food for the armies. There are exceptions here and there on the earth, but they are so few in comparison with the hundreds of millions who are no more than "dumb driven cattle" outside their own villages that I shall not discuss them. All this is to say, therefore, that studies in the field of rural sociology should have definite functional purposes other than providing data for social theorists; that the findings should be used in the villages to help the people rise by pulling upward on their own bootstraps and

should be placed on the tables of political policy makers both in intra- and inter-national affairs.

Vital Fields for Research

With this appraisal of the field and the limited discussion of purpose it remains to specify a few subjects vital for research. As an American working in other countries the first question that struck me has been, "What are the basic social units in the society? And what part do they play in the larger society of which they are a part?"

The basic social units of rural life in the United States are the family, the neighborhood and the community. The rural family in our country usually lives in an isolated farm home or in a hamlet or village. The neighborhood is a more or less definite area with a hamlet (a place with a population of less than 250 persons) or one or more institutions such as a church, school or a store at the center serving farmers. The community is similar to the neighborhood except that it is larger and usually has a village at the center to which the farmers regularly come for certain economic, social, educational, professional and religious services. Both the neighborhood and the community are losing their significance in the United States as basic social units due to increased transportation and communication, though in many instances they still are economic service centers.

In most other parts of the world the village is basically the residential center of farm families. Thus families and the villages in which the farm families live are still the primary social units. What therefore is the social structure of the agricultural villages in lands other than the United States? How are these social units organized? What social distances govern the relationships of the family members? What social functions do families of villages and the village social units perform other than serving as breeding ground for population to supply the needs of industrial cities and for the armies?

Of course this last question cannot be answered without finding out something about what happens in the villages—that is, the individual and group patterns of living. Two institutions play prominent roles in the villages of Germany. These are the church and the restaurant—the *gasthaus*. I know from personal experience that religion as a force, and eating and drinking practices play important roles in the villages of Japan and Korea but not in the same impelling manner as in the churches and *gaststätte* of German villages. The conditioning forces in the villages of the Far East in both these respects have a different background than they have in the villages of Germany. Hence the patterns of interstimulation and response, to use a phrase I learned from Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, in the villages of the Far East and in Germany are different and may produce different types of personalities.

The problems of personality are fundamental in today's world. In our

Western society these problems are manifest in the increasing frequency with which peoples' aches and pains are diagnosed as psychosomatic, and by the increasing importance of consulting psychologists and practicing psychiatrists. Can village life save us from social ills manifested in maladjusted personalities and the concomitant complications in interpersonal relations? There is still another and more important problem: Does village life contribute to savagery and brutality such as was practiced at Dachau in Germany and today whereever the Communists gain control? Then another important question: Does village life contribute more to civilized and well-adjusted personalities, measured in terms of mutually helpful human relationships than the mechanized-urbanized conditions of living? What type of personality mechanisms does living in a village engender where human relations are governed by well established folkways and mores? Will the wife develope a personality that causes her to bark at her child if the husband goes to the *gasthaus*? Why have the men developed personality mechanisms that permit them frequently to work their wives as they do their oxen?

This leads to another vital problem that is partially sociological, namely, the standard of living in the farm villages in most of the world and what relation does a low standard of living bear to the status of women? Women of the villages of the Orient, women of the peasant villages of much of Europe, work in the fields with the oxen, sometimes hitched to the plow with them. But that is not all; their work in the kitchen is little less laborious and backbreaking than it was for their grandmothers some five hundred years ago if one may judge from the stoves and kitchen arrangements in use then and now.

Labor saving devices in most of the farmers' homes of the world are almost unknown. In the Far East women sit for hours by the streams beating dirt out of the clothes; in most of Europe they use hand methods that were antiquated on the American farms a half century ago. A problem therefore is how can the women of the farm world ever take their places beside men, educationally, socially, economically, politically without the benefits of modern inventions for relief from back-breaking drudgery. The men of the farm villages cannot go far in effecting organizations to look after their interests, that will bring to them scientific knowledge, without at some point taking their wives into partnership.

The standard of living of farm people provides an index to the relative position of farmers to other groups. Unless their standard of living is on a relatively equal plane these producers of food are not likely to be considered when national policies are formulated in the capital buildings of the world. Farmers the world over must have a dignified place in the social structure of their nation as well as being a part of its economic base. Are the farmers' interests considered vital in weighing problems

of national welfare? Are their opinions considered in relation to public policy? These questions are asked on the theory that no people can remain strong morally, politically, economically or socially if one segment of the population is cut off from the benefits that scientific discoveries and inventions have to offer.

This leads to one final observation as to the kind of data the sociologists in any country must gather. It must be information that will provide a basis for judging the extent to which the cultivators of the soil may or may not be subject to propaganda and hence become hysterical followers of an irresponsible demagogue. Since this has been previously mentioned and since illustrations can so easily be found I am pursuing the idea no further.

A Last Observation

To embark on research that would answer all the questions that have been raised for only a few nationality groups would entail an immeasurable amount of time, money and energy. But wars do that so why should the sociologists be weak hearted in formulating "bold new programs?" Politics have not brought peace to the world. Economics generally assumes that man lives mostly in accordance with the dictates of his belly. Perhaps sociology has a responsibility to show how other values even in the primitive villages scattered over the earth have impelling forces and values that are more than economic and even nonwarlike, if we can only find them and appreciate their significance.

RESEARCH NOTES

NEW RESEARCH RESOURCES FOR RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE 1950 CENSUS*

A Report for the Rural Sociological Society's Committee on the 1950 Census

Since the last meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, the 17th Decennial Census of the United States has been taken and preliminary results are beginning to appear. Throughout the period of planning and taking of the 1950 censuses of Population, Housing, and Agriculture, members of your Committee have kept in close touch with officials of the Census Bureau, in an attempt to represent the research interests of rural sociologists.

The Decennial Census of the United States through its inventory of people, homes, and farms provides basic data for many types of users. With a budget of a specified size, there are definite limits to the total amount of information that can be gathered, processed, and published. Consequently, various interest groups compete with each other—at least indirectly—in their demands on the Census Bureau for more information to be obtained and published relating to their special fields of interest.

Throughout the process of deciding which items were to be included on the schedule and the detail of the tabulations to be published, the Census staff and its several advisory committees have given sincere and serious consideration to the rural interests as set forth by members of your Committee and by other rural sociologists. It was not possible to get everything desired by rural sociologists, but on the whole rural interests have been duly respected.

In addition to the formal resolutions passed by the Society at the Fontana Dam meeting in 1947[1] and at the Chicago meeting in 1948,[2] members of the Committee have both formally and informally kept the Census officials reminded of our needs. In 1949, the Chairman of the Committee circularized some of the members of the Society with regard to their interests in tabulations for the rural-nonfarm population of counties, because a proposal to eliminate these tabulations in 1950 was being considered. We are happy to report that the proposal was rejected by the Census Bureau and that there will actually be more information concerning the rural-nonfarm populations of counties than appeared in the 1940 Census.

Articles have appeared previously on the subject of social research opportunities in the 1950 and earlier censuses.[3] This paper attempts no comprehensive treatment of that subject. It singles out a few new types of data of interest to rural sociologists that will be available from the 1950 Census and suggests certain types of research that might be carried out using these data.

Population Census

Migration

The kinds of migration data obtained are new in time reference, since they relate to

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* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Estes Park, Colorado, September 3-6, 1950.

[1] See *Rural Sociology*, XII (December, 1947), 457, 458-60.

[2] See *Rural Sociology*, XIV (March, 1949), 97, 102.

[3] For example, Philip M. Hauser, "Research Possibilities for Sociologists in the 1940 Census," *American Sociological Review*, VI (August, 1941), 463-470; Henry S. Shryock, "Opportunities for Social Research in the 1950 Census of Population," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 417-423; A. Ross Eckler, "Planning for the 1950 Censuses of Population and Agriculture," *The American Statistician*, II (February, 1948); and "Summary of Census Bureau Facts and Their Availability for Research," Abstract of Speech Presented to Newspaper Promotion Managers at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 16, 1950, Bureau of the Census (multilithed).

migration during the 12-month period preceding April 1950. The only population census that obtained migration data previously was that of 1940 and those data related to the 5-year period 1935-40. For persons not living in the same house a year ago, questions were asked as to whether the person was living on a farm, whether in the same county, and if not in the same county, the county and State in which he was living. The Census will classify as "migrants" only those persons whose residence shift was across a county line, but the data permit identification of those who moved from farm to nonfarm residence (with and without a change of county or State), those who moved in the reverse direction, and also those who moved from farm to farm within the year.

The plans for the migration tabulations are not yet complete. A brief account of the types of tabulations to be made appears in the article cited by Dr. Shryock, but it is not clear as to just how much detail is to be made available on the characteristics of migrants from farms. It is not expected that a great deal of detail can be made available on a county basis, but for the newly delineated "economic areas" to be described below, tabulations are to be made for migrants classified by area of origin and by area of destination.

Rural sociologists would probably be very much interested in studying the characteristics of migrants from farms in a given economic area and comparing education, employment status, income, etc., of the migrants with those of farm residents of the same age and sex (and race where important) who did not migrate from the area.

Total Family Income

Cash family income from all sources was obtained for the first time in the 1950 Census, but it is believed that the reporting of income of farmers and other self-employed persons will be much less satisfactory than in the case of persons employed for wages or salary. Final appraisal cannot be made until the data are available. However, even in the case of the farm population, the use of total family income for classifying farm families into fairly broad income groups may be satisfactory for analyzing the relation of education, fertility, migration, etc., to economic status. Certainly this will be true in the case of rural-nonfarm families. The detailed plans for the more elaborate cross-classifications of family income and other data are not yet formulated. But from the tables on income distribution already planned for the second series of bulletins, the median incomes of families and individuals can be obtained for the rural-farm and the rural-nonfarm populations of counties. Research will be needed to appraise the validity of the income data for rural families and to ascertain whether median income of rural-farm families in a county provides a measure of economic status preferable to the county level of living indexes developed from data obtained in the Census of Agriculture.

Villages of 1,000 or More Population

Rural sociologists with special interest in villages should be gratified over the additional material the 1950 Census will provide on unincorporated villages. The Geography Division of the Census Bureau has drawn boundaries for each unincorporated village with an estimated 800 or more popultion. For each of these with 1,000 or more population the same amount of information on age, sex, race, and farm residence will be published as was true for incorporated villages and for minor civil divisions in 1940. This is definitely in line with the second proposal of the Resolution passed by the Society in August 1947, "That the residence classification of the rural-nonfarm population be expanded to identify its different segments, such as suburban, village, open country, etc." Another step taken in the general direction indicated by the resolution has been the delineation of the urban fringe around cities of 50,000 or more and the actual removal of this surburban population from the rural classification. The chief step remaining to be taken in meeting our proposal is the identification and separation of the small village and hamlet

population from the open-country and string-town rural-nonfarm population. Perhaps the Society may press for this in the 1960 Census. Nothing carries more weight than demonstrated use of similar materials. If rural sociologists make full use of the 1950 data on villages of 1,000 or more during the next 10 years, they will be in a strong position to urge the Census Bureau to provide data on smaller villages and hamlets.

New Urban-Rural Definition

Comment on this subject will be limited, as it was discussed fully at an earlier meeting, and at that time the Society went on record as approving of the changes. The transfer of several million population from the rural to the urban population leaves us with a more *bona fide* rural population. We shall probably know the magnitude of the effect of the changes by the end of the year, when preliminary figures will become available from a sample of the 1950 Census. Many believe that much more meaningful analysis of the composition of the rural-nonfarm population will be possible because of the change.

Housing Census

Two new items on facilities should be of interest to rural sociologists—television and kitchen sink. Information on these items was obtained on a 20-percent sample basis, but data showing their frequency of occurrence will be available for the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm population by counties. In the matching study to be mentioned later, the relationship of possession of television to family income, education, etc., can be explored.

Rather elaborate cross-classifications of facilities data, which may offer new approaches to construction of indexes are being explored. Also being explored is the use of economic areas within States (to be described later) as the geographic base for certain cross-classifications of housing data and family data obtained from the Population schedule.

Agricultural Census

Chief Source of Family Income

New questions were introduced in the 1950 Census on off-farm work of members of the farm operator's family, on sources of income other than the farm, and on whether income from other sources was greater than the gross cash farm income. Only the last item will be punched on the machine cards. It permits the separation of farm-operator families that are mainly dependent on farming for a livelihood from those that are mainly dependent on some other source of income. From regular tabulations of the Census of Agriculture, data will be available as to size, type, tenure, and economic size of farm for farm operators who report other sources of family income as greater than the gross farm income. These data are expected to throw new light on the sort of farms operated by such families. These materials will permit new analyses of part-time farming that should have wide interest for rural sociologists.

Farm Labor and Wages

The 1950 Census will contain much more information on farm labor and wages than has been obtained previously. Hours worked by the farm operator in the preceding week, numbers of seasonal and regular hired farm workers employed, and type and amount of wage rate, with provision for conversion to hourly cash wages, are the new items obtained. Exploration of many interesting relationships will be possible by special tabulations. For example, the relation of migration from farms to the level of farm wages prevailing in the area is one question that can be explored. Another is the relation of wage rates to the size of the farm enterprise, and a third is the amount of time the part-time farmer works on his farm in a week.

Trading Center

New information was obtained as to distance to the trading center to which the farmer goes most frequently and how much of the distance is over dirt or unimproved roads. The data from this question have relevance to farm real estate values, farm

marketing costs, and the need for certain public works projects. However, it is not clear just what sociological research problems the information will serve. The Committee would appreciate very much hearing from any of you who find occasion to use this item from the 1950 Census of Agriculture in your rural social research.

State Economic Areas

A signal advance of the 1950 Census is the development of a standard set of geographic areas intermediate between States and counties to be used for certain tabulations from the several censuses. A brief description of these areas is contained in the latest release (No. 15) in the Census-BAE series. These areas will be especially useful in presentations of data obtained on a sample basis from the several censuses. For the interests of rural sociologists, it was exceedingly important that the set of areas used for sample tabulations in the Population Census be the same as the set used for sample tabulations in the Agriculture Census, or at least that the two sets be convertible by grouping certain areas. If this were not the case, data from the two sources could not be related through a common geographic base.

The exact formulation of the nature of the tabulations to be made by economic areas is not final in all subjects. However, the Agriculture Division has provided us with a set of the table forms that will probably be used and these are available for inspection. In these tables, there is no indication that the average farm wage rates will be available by economic areas. It is still to be hoped that this can be obtained for use in analysis of factors affecting migration from farms. This is another matter on which the Society may wish to make a recommendation to the Census Bureau.[4]

Matching Study

Tentative plans have been made to undertake a matching study of schedules from the Population, Housing, and Agriculture schedules as a cooperative project of the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This would permit exploration of various types of interrelationships among the data from the several sources. Time does not permit a full account of the proposed project, but if any rural sociologists have a particular interest in a problem that can be answered only by information collated from the several censuses, they should let us know of it so that the items of interest will be covered in the matching study and the appropriate tabulations can be planned.

Conclusion

The Committee on the 1950 Census has assumed that the Society wishes it to continue functioning until the end of the Census period in 1952. If at any time we can be of assistance to rural sociologists collectively or individually in transmitting their views to the Census Bureau, we stand ready to be called upon.

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[4] The Society adopted such a resolution, and the Committee has been informed that the Census Bureau will publish average farm wage rates by economic areas.

A PROPOSED FUNCTION FOR THE SMALL FARM IN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

When returns from the 1950 Census are available, we will know what has been the survival experience between 1945 and 1950 of the small southern farmer whose operations are less than 100 acres. In 1940, three-fourths of all farmers in the Southeast were in this category. Trends in agriculture in the decade prior to 1945, and apparently accelerated since then, were toward productive enterprises suited to larger acreages for

profitable return. Mechanization of cotton production and the expansion of livestock and dairying enterprises are not designed for the farm of less than 100 acres. However, many of the farmers operating acreages of this size own the land they cultivate and will strive to survive after those who are tenants have been eliminated. Concern for their survival was expressed a decade ago by Gove Hambidge, "They are men and women and children—individuals and families with the same needs, longings, and possibilities as the rest of us. Together, they are the reverse side of the picture of the wonderful technological progress that has enabled fewer and fewer farmers in the modern world to do the necessary work of production."[1]

This research proposal is based upon a hypothesis that a sound economic function may be served by these small farmers, and it proposes to explore the potentialities of this function.

The small farmer has been an economic and social concern of the South since the Civil War. In 1940, 77 per cent of the farms in the southeast were under a hundred acres in size, with the average size around 81 acres and average crop land less than 45 acres.[2] The Census enumerations which provide our figures report all tenants' and croppers' holdings as operator tracts "although many such tenants have no higher status than hired agricultural labor elsewhere."[3] Using Alabama as an illustration we find that in 1935, 59 per cent of all farms were less than 50 acres and these controlled 20 per cent of the farm land in the state. In 1945, the 54 per cent of the farms of less than 50 acres controlled 16 per cent of the farm land.

Vance has pointed out that this small acreage is associated with crops which demand a great deal of labor and possess relatively high value per acre—cotton, tobacco, and truck crops.[4] The traditional production has required that large owned tracts of land be sub-divided into small units for family-organized hand-labor exploitation. This circumstance has obscured the fact of ownership in large units. In 1945, 81,004 owners and part owners operated farms less than 100 acres in Alabama. They operated 46 per cent of all farms of less than 100 acres.

The 80,000 owners and part owners operating farms of less than 100 acres may be regarded as the stable small farm group. Fifty-four per cent of the operators with less than 100 acres may be regarded as unstable since they rent land which owners may cultivate themselves when it is feasible to do so.

Thus it appears that interest in the small farmer in Alabama would express concern for 78 per cent of the farm operators, those with less than 100 acres. Even when the question is raised concerning the stability of those renting land, there remains 46 per cent of all Alabama farmers in this small-farm class who own their own farms.

Changes in crops or in method of cultivation which reduce the demand for hand labor increase the acreage cultivated by owners themselves and permit production of a greater amount of farm commodities by fewer operators. This appears to be the process in Alabama where livestock production and dairying are expanding and the use of machines in cotton production is on the increase. Between 1935 and 1945, farms of less than 100 acres decreased 21 per cent.

Under the old system where the production by small units was necessary, the small farmer was at little disadvantage. Under the emerging system, the small farmer appears to be faced with unfavorable conditions and this proposal seeks to study possible adjustment of his operations to his advantage.

For those thousands of small farmers throughout the South who are not willing

[1] Gove Hambidge, *Farmers in A Changing World—A Summary*, 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, p. 4.
[2] Rupert B. Vance, *All These People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945, p. 163.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

to give up farming as a way of life and who find difficulty in increasing the size of their farms—what can they do to remain in profitable farming?

Our hypothesis is that the small farmer whose units are too small to operate machines or graze livestock profitably, may find the solution of his problem in performing service functions in the developing agricultural economy.[5]

In proposing that small farm units in the South be developed for service production, we have two major propositions. One is that the service farms catering to an urban market need not be near the market. The other is that there are service needs that the large-scale farms require which may be supplied by the small farm.

Items available to support the first proposition are milk routes, okra routes, pimento routes, and poultry routes in the old cotton area of Alabama. The operators of a cheese processing plant in Dadeville, Alabama, the operators of a pepper and okra canning factory in Selma, Alabama and the operators of a cooperative poultry processing establishment in Montgomery, Alabama pick up milk, okra, pepper and poultry from small farmers over a forty mile radius.

Similar establishments could be cited in other areas of the South. The operators of these establishments find it uneconomical to expand their routes much beyond the forty mile limit, and would prefer an increase in the number of small farmers participating, in order to shorten their routes.

Data available to support the second proposition—that there are service needs that the large-scale farms require which may be supplied by the small farm—is fragmentary, coming through casual unstructured observation. A small farmer in Macon County, Alabama is producing subterraniam clover seed for the livestock farmers in the area; another small farmer in Limestone County, Alabama is producing a variety of grass seed for large livestock growers.

It should be pointed out that the machinery for harvesting grass seeds is rather expensive and serves as a determent for small farmers entering this type of enterprise. According to Langsford[6] there is profitable market for grass seed and cooperative purchase of machinery may be one solution for the small farmer.

In order to test the validity of the hypothesis that the small farmer whose units are too small to operate machines or graze livestock profitably may find a solution of his problem in performing service functions in the developing agricultural economy, we suggest the following:

1. Select a county, in which there is no city over 50,000 population, that has fifty per cent or more farm operators whose units are 100 acres and less, and in which there is one or more agricultural processing establishment(s).

(a) Determine what per cent of the suppliers are small farmers.

(b) Determine the median distance the small farmers are from the establishment.

(c) Determine how the small farmers who live beyond the pick-up-route of the processing establishment get their produce marketed.

2. Select a county in which there is a city of 100,000 population or more.

(a) Determine the number of farmers operating farm units of 100 acres or less.

(b) Determine how many small farmers market their produce in the large city.

(c) Determine their spatial distribution from the city.

(d) Determine what is the correlation between produce marketed and distance from the city.

3. Select a county in which twenty-five per cent or more of farm land is owned in units of 500 acres or more; and the raising of livestock is the major source of income.

(a) Determine what per cent of the farm

[5] Ernest E. Neal and Lewis W. Jones, "The Place of the Negro in the Changing Economy of the Cotton South," *Rural Sociology*, XV (March, 1950), 41.

[6] E. Lee Langsford, "Newer Pastures Show Promise," *The Agricultural Situation*, XXXIV (May, 1950), 7-8.

operators in the area operate units of 100 acres or less.

(b) Determine what services the operators of large farms are purchasing that could be produced in the area.

(c) Determine to what extent these services are being supplied by small farmers.

4. Select a county in which twenty-five per cent or more of the farm land is owned in units of 500 acres or more and on which tractors and other power machines are used for cultivation.

(a) Determine what per cent of the farm operators in the area operate units of 100 acres or less.

(b) Determine what services the mechanized farms are purchasing that could be supplied in the area.

(c) Determine to what extent these services are being supplied by the operators of small farms or could be supplied.

This study would implicitly be concerned with areas that are commonly regarded as the province of the economist: the service function in the economy and the market. The approach, however, would be sociological. Here is an opportunity to test the principles of the service function as advanced by Bogue[7] with reference to the more complex metropolitan community.

Service establishments differ from retail establishments in two principal ways. First services embrace a great many activities which are consumed primarily by other business organizations, which is not true of retail trade.

A second difference between the service and the retail activities lies in the behavior of the consumer. The consumption of services which are purchased by some consumers may be postponed by others; or the consumer may, by performing particular services for himself, avoid altogether patronage of some service establishments.

Development of the market for services of the small farmer would be considered in terms of people in action as well as the operation of impersonal economic processes. The work of Gras[8] and Von Thunen[9] provide a point of departure for such consideration.

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[7] Don J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949), p. 147.

[8] N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture in Europe and America* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1925).

[9] J. H. von Thunen, *Der isolierte Staat*, Pt. I, pp. 390-391.

INTERVIEWER TRAINING FOR STUDIES USING INTENSIVE INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES

There is a marked trend in rural sociological research toward more extensive use of the intensive interview techniques as refined by students in the field of mass communication. These techniques are particularly appropriate for studies of an exploratory nature, primarily intended to discover the categories of thought and action—the objective nature of the situation—rather than merely to determine the frequencies of established classifications of response. Their use, however, entails special training for those who would employ them. This note is written to pass on to others the experience gained in training interviewers to use this tool for the first time.

One characteristic of this technique is the open-end question designed to minimize guidance and direction by the interviewer, to permit the respondent greater latitude of expression, and to maximize the variety of response. This nondirective approach gives the respondent an opportunity to express himself about the things that are of

greatest importance to him, within broad limits established by the interviewer, rather than those things presumed by the research leader to be most important. These open-end questions may be followed by specific structured questions in which the respondent is limited to a simple choice among alternatives or to other types of circumscribed replies.

This technique was used with good results in an explorative study of the social process of farmhouse building being conducted by the North Carolina AES with financial support from the BAE, USDA. In each important area of the interview an open-end question was followed by a series of structured questions each relative to a category of response considered important by the project leaders. For example, in attempting to determine the motivations for building a new house this open-end question was asked: "What things caused you to build a new house?" The interviewer then repeated this question in a number of forms if necessary to secure a response but was careful to give the respondent no hint of a possible reply.[1] When the respondent had been stimulated to reply as fully as possible his response was recorded. Then he was asked if certain specific conditions motivated him to build, such as the condition of his old house, changes in the size of his family, changes in the needs of his family, etc. This sequence of open-end question followed by specific questions was used throughout the interview.

The seven interviewers used in this study were mature persons with training in sociology. Included were two recent bachelor graduates in sociology, three graduate students with one year of graduate study in sociology, one Ph.D. in sociology, and one M.S. graduate with a minor in sociology. Their prior training as sociologists is emphasized here because of its relative importance in an exploratory study using open-end questions. Without prior academic training of this type, an interviewer is unlikely to observe and record many facts which are relevant to an exploratory study but which are not specifically included in the interview guide.

The training period for the four interviewers who began the study extended over a period of two weeks. This began with a "school" of three days duration devoted to (1) the background of the study, its nature, scope, and objectives, (2) the sampling method used, (3) the intensive interview technique, and (4) the interview guide and instructions. The purpose of this school was not only to acquaint each interviewer with the mechanics of the interview guide, but also to give him a thorough understanding of the objectives of each question and of the techniques for securing responses. Most of the remaining training period was devoted to making interviews in nonsample areas. Following each interview the project leader carefully edited each question with the interviewer in order that the full meaning of the question would be apparent to him before he proceeded with the next interview. After this editing by the project leader, the interviewer held a similar session with one of the other interviewers who acted as editor. When deficiencies occurred, the interviewers were required to revisit the respondent for additional data. In this way differences in interpreting the meaning of questions were for the most part eliminated, and the instructions for the interview guide were improved.

So far this discussion of training has probably contributed little that is new to any sociologist with research experience. However, one more step was taken which is not customary in most sociological research, it is believed, but which has merit especially for an exploratory study. This step involved a simple qualitative analysis of parts of the completed practice interview guides, with the project leader and the interviewers participating. This analysis was limited to establishing classes of response to the open-end and semi-structured questions

[1] Other versions of this question were: What problems or changes arose which made it necessary for you to build? Why did you decide to build at all? etc.

and classifying the responses given. For example, the responses given to the open-end question above, "What things caused you to build?" were very hetrogeneous and apparently had little in common. Upon closer examination, however, it was found that there were sufficient similarities in parts of the responses to establish these similarities as tentative classes. In addition to those classes which had been anticipated (see above), others were observed, including (1) No house for owner on the farm he owned (2) needed the old house for his tenant, (3) didn't want to live with relatives or others any longer, etc.

Although much of the material was classifiable, a considerable number of the responses or parts of them (1) were expressed in such terms that the meaning was not clear and required further verbal explanation by the interviewer, or they (2) were extraneous to the central purpose of the question and to the study as a whole, or they (3) were recorded in a previous related question to which no cross-reference had been made. These and other like errors convinced the interviewers of the absolute necessity for understanding the objectives of the study as a whole and of each section and question. They were also made aware of the need for probing where inadequate responses were given, for securing complete response to the intent of each question, for maintaining the same level of abstraction for a question each time it was asked, for cross-referencing questions when necessary, etc. This step demonstrated to them, as nothing else could, the complete dependence of the analyst upon the interviewer for the basic data.

One other important result of this participation in the analysis was to give the interviewer a feeling of identification with the total research project. He was no longer merely an employee carryng out assigned duties. This point is borne out both by the great interest shown by the interviewers during the field work and by their written comments requested from each one at the end of the field work phase. The three who were added to the staff later and who had not had this experience felt that this would have been helpful to them, while the original four were unanimous in suggesting greater use of this training device in future studies.

Although the advantages of this training device are several, one caution should be added. Over-emphasis on a few completed interview guides may sub-consciously influence the interviewer in making further interviews to limit his recording of responses to those classes of answers given in the few he has analyzed. Such a "hardening of the categories" would be particularly undesirable in a study of an exploratory nature. There is a tendency for this to happen in any study, but it can be counteracted, at least in part, by constant emphasis on obtaining as great a variety of response as possible. However, the experience with this training device in the housing study proved of far greater worth than its possible liabilities.

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Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

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† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.
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Health Needs and Health Care in Michigan. Charles R. Hoffer and others. East Lansing: Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station Section of Sociology and Anthropology, Special Bulletin 365, June 1950. 94 pp.

All persons interested in modern sickness

needs, in the services available for their discovery, diagnosis and treatment, and in the attitudes of people to doctors and medical care plans will profit from a reading of this bulletin. It represents the first installment of a series of reports on a truly scientific survey. This survey made in 1948, involved first-hand interviews with 1,113 households selected by a carefully devised scientific sampling design to represent the State of Michigan (outside Wayne County) and to represent rural and urban areas of that State.

Using the services of the Iowa Statistical Laboratory the techniques of the area sampling design were employed. Needs for medical care were determined by the "symptoms approach," using an inventory originally devised by Schuler and validated by Hoffer. The degree to which these needs were met or unmet were determined by the extent and quality of the health services which the families obtained during the six months preceding the survey contacts.

Part I of this bulletin is titled "the health of the people." This part really concerns itself with unmet needs for medical attention, the way these unfulfilled needs vary by place of residence, age, income, education, distance from doctor and other variables, and with the use of medical practitioners, hospitals, and local public health workers.

Part II of the report concerns itself with attitudes and opinions about doctors, hospitals, prepayment medical service plans, and about other community health problems.

Appendices describe the sampling procedures, present detailed tabulations, and publish the survey schedules.

Perhaps one of the most striking conclusions based on this survey was that the more rural the population, the larger the incidence of untreated symptoms becomes. Nearly 27 percent of the open country population had one or more untreated positive symptoms which would normally call for medical attention. It was estimated that well over a half-million persons in Michigan outside Wayne County have rather serious complaints for which a physician had not been consulted for reasons of expense, distance, lack of time, neglect, etc.

High incidence of failure to get treatment services were matched by failure in preventive services as illustrated by lack of immunization and vaccination against communicable diseases.

Persons interested in the proposed national health insurance program will be interested to learn that in Michigan nearly 69 per cent of the persons interviewed had never even heard or read about this important public issue. On the other hand, 46 per cent thought that a government-sponsored prepayment plan would be "a good idea," while only 28 per cent thought it a bad idea, the remaining being uncertain or not responding to the question.

This reviewer can offer mostly positive evaluations of this work. It contains a body of findings that can be accepted with a high degree of confidence in their validity because they resulted from the applications of apparently sound survey methods, procedures, and techniques. Among these sound and desirable procedures, the teamwork approach is one highly commendable feature.

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Looking at Lowell. Prepared by classes in Rural Sociology at Marietta College during the school years 1948-49 and 1949-50. Marietta, Ohio: Marietta College Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, October 1950.

This is a study of Lowell, Ohio, a village of six hundred persons near Marietta, Ohio. It was made by students of E. L. Kirkpatrick during 1948-49. Included within the work are observations about the rural peoples within the trade center of the village, an area of about forty square miles. The community was settled about 125 years ago by a mixture of New Englanders and German immigrants. Its history since that time as well as its contemporary situation are given meticulous analysis. It evidently is on the edge of the line between the corn

belt and the Appalachian region in that the valleys produce good commercial farm crops and the hills furnish the famous Appalachian oaks for a thriving wood industry. The study concludes with "recommendations" concerning basic needs of the community.

This is an excellent study and an even more excellent teaching device. The reviewer would criticize it for not concentrating on a few *paramount* ends such as soil, pasture and forage improvement and the lackadaisical use of the forest without any evidence of replanting. Once these are achieved, the others will come. He should like to see more discussion of communication service. The use of telephone and radio is not mentioned. Further, what about medical service, since no drugstore exists in the community? More attention might be paid to the peculiar nature of the rural Catholic Church there, if it has any outstanding characteristics, since this faith is not well represented in our rural districts, particularly near the Appalachian-Ozark region. Finally, though perhaps students cannot do it, the whole problem of social control should be analyzed. Every village has an underlying Winesburg personality and its social action is mainly a reconnaissance around the jagged contours of that.

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Marriages and Families of University Graduates. W. A. Anderson. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950. 52 pp.

Marriages and Families of University Graduates: Statistical Supplement. Ithaca: Private lithoprint, 1950. 32 pp.

Professor Anderson has added another to his growing list of publications, each of which is a dependable, serviceable reference for all students of related problems. The present monograph offers us a rounded picture of the marital and fertility practices of a large sample of the college graduate section of our population.

Two features of the format used for presenting these data deserve commendation, though neither is original, as well as imitation. 1) The statistical tables are segregated in a more economical supplement, permitting the conclusions of the study to be circulated more widely and to be appreciated without intimidating statistics. 2) The summary is conveniently printed as topic sentences, a red thread through the complexities of the text, which also serve as a descriptive table of contents.

Following a brief section identifying the group studied (1919-21 Cornell graduates) and validating the sample, the materials are presented in two pairs of sections on marital and fertility characteristics that offer as comprehensive a picture of the demography of an important sector of our society as one will expect to read.

The present incidence of the married status is portrayed by sex, community of rearing, and curriculum in college, together with salient comparisons to the situation among the general population. Marital experience is analyzed more fully. In addition to conventional items such as widowhood, divorce, and remarriage, attention is given to the educational status of graduates' mates, "college endogamy," age differences, and duration of celibacy after graduation. In all these marital aspects, male graduates are shown to differ noticeably from the women, more than in respect to fertility behavior.

In childbearing, these graduates resemble American graduates generally in failing to replace themselves. This deficit was especially marked among the women, due to their low marriage rate; among the women marrying, however, as Goodsell showed years ago, college training has little inhibition upon fertility of women when contrasted to men. Surprisingly, curriculum in college was not associated with fertility; the "less urban" courses seemingly did not carry over into domestic life. One feature of this section should prove illuminating in marriage or home management courses: the data on the length and distribution of the childbearing period. In fact, the most detailed portion of this report concerns the

spacing of births. Whether these data aid in assigning weight to the biological element in fertility, they should help salesmen of baby supplies.

One reservation to this, and similar studies may be voiced. Lamentable as the low birthrate of college graduates may be on eugenic grounds, from the standpoint of vertical mobility all is not loss. Fewer children of the well placed families implies more opportunities for the ill-born but capable youth. If one discounts biological factors in social dynamics, this latter gain may well outweigh the former loss.

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Rural Organization of Bradford County, Pennsylvania. Donald G. Hay and M. E. John. State College, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 524, April 1950. 38 pp.

This is one of 21 comparable studies of rural social organization being conducted cooperatively by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, USDA, and various land-grant colleges. Primary source data were obtained chiefly from interviews with 38 key informants, 186 organization leaders, and from high school students who furnished information on the participation of 402 families in rural organizations. The five types of groups analyzed included locality groups, institutions, formal organizations, informal groups and agencies.

Bradford County is located in the Northeastern General Farming Belt. It ranks higher than average among counties of the Nation with respect to most social and economic characteristics. Its rural organizations appear to compare favorably in number, structure and functions with those found elsewhere. The degree of participation in organized group life seems to be fairly satisfactory. However, only one of 76 neighborhoods and no community received a "high group identification" rating, which possibly could be traced to the effects of strong urban influences on rural locality groups. Extensive home ownership, dairy farming, and general stability are favorable cultural factors underlying the rural group activities of the County. Trends toward a greater occupational heterogeneity of population, an increase of special interest groups at the community and county levels, and a declining role of neighborhoods are observed.

Studies of rural social organization, such as the one under review, reflect omissions for more or less obvious reasons. A few facts about political behavior—the proportions of eligible population who are registered to vote, party affiliation, and participation in voting—would be a valuable addition. More information on economic institutions is needed. Furthermore, the vertical groupings of rural people into castes and classes is as much a part of rural social organization as is the ecological arrangement into neighborhoods and communities. To omit a description of social stratification in research of this nature is to ignore one of the most basic elements of rural organization.

Within the framework designed for these studies, Hay and John have done commendable research.

ROBERT T. MCMILLAN.
Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

The Agricultural Labor Force in the San Joaquin Valley, California: Characteristics, Employment, Mobility, 1948. William H. Metzler and Afife F. Sayin. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, February 1950. 73 pp.

This bulletin reports the findings of a labor force study made under the joint auspices of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., and the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California. Members of the staff of the Institute gave technical and advisory help. The senior author, W. H. Metzler, is Social Science Analyst, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Mr. Sayin is research assistant in the Institute.

This report is a descriptive analysis of the farm labor force in the San Joaquin Valley—no less and no more. There are no recommendations for action and very few evaluative statements. A carefully selected sample of 512 heads of farm labor households was interviewed—a total of 2113 individuals. "Of the 512 workers in the sample, 393 were Anglo-American, 76 were Mexican, 26 Negro and 17 Filipino. These numbers are roughly in proportion to the number of each of these groups in the farm work force." The farm labor force in the valley is estimated at 90,000 to 100,000 persons.

"The general situation in California has been that a surplus of people with an agricultural background has flooded the farm labor market. The surplus was particularly great during the 1930's when midwestern farmers who were forced out by drought, and sharecroppers who were displaced by machinery, sought opportunities in the State. The surplus disappeared during the war when farm workers left farms to work in defense plants up and down the Pacific Coast. When the war ended, some of them remained in the towns; others returned to farm work.

"Since the war they have been joined by a new flow of in-migrants, again mostly from the southwestern states and this time including a few Negroes. They are not in as straitened circumstances as their predecessors in the 1930's, yet have limited resources. They come into an agricultural economy which, except for cotton picking, is strange to them and which offers them comparatively good wages for very irregular periods of employment."

The authors preface their descriptive material of the farm labor force with a concise summary statement of the nature of the agricultural economy in the valley with its specialized crop areas, peak labor requirements at harvest time and wide fluctuations in labor demands due to size of crop and market conditions.

There is an informative section on the rigidities and stratifications in the labor force. "Local customs greatly influence the type of worker that will be used in a particular operation, hence they limit the mobility of workers from one kind of work to another .... Mexican and Oriental workers are used for hand operations in such crops as lettuce, carrots, asparagus and sugar beets, but they find it difficult to get work that requires technical knowledge, as driving tractors or as milkers.

"Workers of Mexican extraction do most of the vegetable and citrus work in the southern end of the State, but the 'Okies' from the southwestern states have secured a foothold in the seasonal fruit and cotton work in the San Joaquin Valley. Many came into the State along with the cotton industry but spread out into fruit and general farming in order to have more continuity of employment. Negroes are readily accepted for cotton work but have difficulty getting into many other lines.

"Customary rules also apply in regard to family labor. Concerted family activity is the general rule among hired workers in such work as picking cotton, prunes or figs. Heads of families that habitually follow this type of work may refuse to hire to producers of peaches, apricots, cherries and other tree crops who ordinarily do not care to hire women or children for picking and thinning. But if any sorting, cutting or packing of the fruit is to be done, then the women may have a chance. Producers of asparagus, lettuce and similar crops usually have housing for single men, but not for men with families. This keeps them hiring the same type of worker."

The wide fluctuations in labor requirements for seasonal operations is indicated in the following estimates by the authors. The middle of March 6,700 workers were needed, but by the end of October, 102,000. The farm laborers for the most part are newcomers to the valley. Two-thirds of the sample came from the southwestern states of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri. Another four per cent from southeastern states and 19 per cent from neighboring western states. They are for the most part

family units of husband, wife and children. In fact, 39 per cent of them have three or more children compared to a national figure of 11 per cent. Most of them have had previous farm experience, 21 per cent have been farm operators. The types of work done by the heads of families were analyzed for the previous 12 months. It was interesting to note that nearly 40 per cent of them had some kind of non-farm work.

One of the most interesting sections of study is the analysis of the amount of employment that the workers had during the previous 12 months. "The average number of days worked during the previous year was 165. Year-around workers average 263 days, general farm workers 159, and harvest workers 124. Migratory workers averaged somewhat less than those who worked only in one county. Those who did nonfarm work averaged 188 days—decidedly higher than those who did farm work only.

"A generalized statement as to the time worked by all heads of households is as follows: 10 per cent were employed full-time, or 11 months or more; 15 per cent were employed from eight to eleven months; 37 per cent from six to eight months; 18 per cent from four to six months; and 20 per cent less than four months." Fifty-eight per cent of the wives worked for pay. They averaged less than one-half as many days of work as their husbands.

There is a good description of the migratory labor paths of the workers in the valleys, the extent of their movement and the type of people who make up the migratory groups. A surprisingly large proportion of the sample, 44 per cent, worked only in their own counties during the previous year. Movements between other states and California were apparently not as extensive as this reviewer had been led to believe. Most of the migration of the group studied was within the San Joaquin Valley—north in the spring and early summer and south to pick cotton and harvest vegetables in the fall and early winter.

In an appendix section on the sampling method, the authors state the schedules were taken at the peak of the local harvest season. In order to save time it was done in residential areas and labor camps where there was a concentration of farm workers. The authors state that workers living on farms which housed only a few families, those living in the towns, where the bulk of the population was nonfarm and workers who lived on their own farms and worked out for the neighbors did not have an opportunity to be represented in the sample. These omissions were thought not to have affected the validity of the sample. This reviewer has some doubt about this. It seems quite possible that the residential labor force is underrepresented particularly so when the authors state "the objective was to give all workers in an area at the time of the harvest an equal chance to be included—year-around workers, general farm and harvest workers, those in the major crops, and those in all other crops and operations."

No attempt was made to expand the figures in the sample and arrive at totals for the valley. It is hoped that the problems of analyzing the agricultural labor force can be improved to the point where a sample would be sufficiently accurate so that it can be expanded to the universe that it purports to represent. The authors have encountered numerous methodological difficulties in their study. Their struggles point up the need for developing refinements in research methods for farm labor studies. The project under review, in spite of its various shortcomings, presents in clear language useful information about the agricultural labor force in the San Jaoquin Valley. The data should be helpful to the administrators of programs affecting farmers and farm laborers.

Noting omissions, there are no data on wage rates or annual earnings of farm laborers, nor information on the amount of money received or the time these people were dependent upon public funds even though there was provision for the latter on the schedule. The use and testing of carefully stated hypotheses would have im-

proved the study's contribution to social research.

ROBERT A. POLSON.
Cornell University.

Migrant Farm Labor in Indiana. J. Z. Rowe and J. B. Kohlmeyer. Lafayette: Purdue Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 545, December 1949. 32 pp.

The volume and theme of studies on migratory farm workers vary to a marked extent with the position these people occupy in our national production system. During the thirties numerous surveys portrayed their erratic wanderings, low earnings and futile attempts to secure some measure of economic security. The tight labor market of the World War II period raised them to a most essential and even critical position in our economy and the few publications of those times dealt with such matters as how to build housing to attract seasonal workers and how to guide their movements so that they would lose a minimum of time. During recent months studies of migrant labor have again become common and again show these marginal people averaging only 100 to 125 days of farm work in a year. Increased seasonality of labor requirements has gradually reduced their chance to earn a livelihood. They require food and shelter every day even though they serve as standby labor needed only during peak harvest periods and times of national crisis.

The report by Rowe and Kohlmeyer does not stem from this most recent situation. It deals with migratory farm labor during World War II and is in the wartime tradition. It presents in well-selected pictures the types of housing that attract and repel workers. It assumes that workers are of such high economic and social status that we should know all about them.

The study was made cooperatively between the senior author, a candidate for an M.S. degree at Purdue University, and officials of the Extension Service Emergency Farm Labor Program in Indiana. The latter contribute data in regard to labor-using crops and areas, periods of peak labor needs, and extent of use of migratory workers. The former has coordinated field data from some 5,400 migrant worker interviews with the Extension Service information. Cooperative studies between an action agency which has or can obtain basic data and a university group which will analyze and interpret them would seem to be ideal. Some organized means of obtaining more such cooperative projects is needed.

The report indicates that the use of migratory workers in Indiana is centered around the harvest of canning tomatoes. Of 19,000 seasonal workers, 13,000 came from outside the state, largely from south Texas. Members of the latter group are of Mexican extraction and are brought in by crew leaders who make all job arrangements before leaving Texas. They come in by one of two established routes and work in Indiana only. A very few go on to Michigan.

One interesting aspect of the study could have been given more attention. Both the workers and the Extension farm labor officials were asked for comments in regard to improving the use of migratory farm labor. Both groups recommended a better information service to guide the workers' movements and better housing. The workers suggested rest camps along their routes of travel and a reduction of social barriers. The workers opposed any holdback of wages while the officials favored it. Other equally pertinent recommendations were made. Out of such free expressions from first hand experience come improved work relationships.

WILLIAM H. METZLER.
Washington, D. C.

Rural Social Organization in Dent County, Missouri. Ronald B. Almack and Lawrence M. Hepple. Columbia, Missouri: Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 458, August 1950. 59 pp.

This is one of the studies made cooperatively with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Among these studies, Dent

County was selected to represent the Ozark country. Originally designed to describe the changing culture of the people of the Ozarks, the study was later limited by Congressional Edict to social organization.

In Dent County general and live-at-home farming predominate. Family living is modest because of lack of productive resources other than labor. Dent County families produce an annual surplus of 1,000 persons. Underemployment has characterized the farms except during World War II. But the people have had plenty to do. It takes plenty of work to make a living when resources are scarce and methods traditional.

Dent County is inhabited by an extremely individualistic people. Family farming and family living, family education, family recreation, and family shopping characterize the farm people. Life is highly personal, religion is personal, leadership is personal, shopping is personal service, even the county agent works mostly on a personal service basis. Recreation consists mostly of reading, hunting and similar sports, with no mention of neighborhood parties.

The 63 rural schools furnish about the only organized framework for rural and neighborhood living beyond the family. High hills, poor roads, and few telephones make communication difficult. The county seat town is the place where more people get together than any other but such contacts are comparatively infrequent. Farmers are not excluded from membership in organizations at the county seat. But attendance even at movies, church, and high school functions is infrequent.

The informal character of social organization in Dent County is high-lighted in this report by the absence of all formal description of neighborhoods and communities. Neither is there a table or a chart in the entire report. Patterns of association are informal, groups do not meet regularly and have no regular meeting place. Government and private agencies are coming into the county. The Agricultural Extension Service appears to be foremost among these. While the county agent must work largely on an individualistic and informal basis with his farmers, 4-H Clubs are serving young people in an area where social parties for young or old are not even mentioned.

But it's not far to "the city" for Dent Countians and many of the young people are leaving. It's not that they love the outside but opportunities at home are limited. Some of them make a "stake" and return. But the education they received at home was limited and they find little in their outside urban experience to help them raise the level of living in Dent County.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis Durant Duncan

Every Day Was New. By H. Clyde Filley. New York: The Exposition Press, 1950. Pp. 179. $3.00.

In this little book the author covers the more than three score and ten years of his very active life in careful detail. Dr. Filley carries the reader along with him from birth to maturity. He lives with him on that Gage County farm in Southeast Nebraska, sharing in early memories and twice-told-tales, as well as in the more meticulous details of adolescent life.

The first-hand report of pioneer life in Nebraska gives a happy picture of the settlement of the Great Plains States and for that reason alone it is an important contribution to our historical collection. Coming as it does from a social scientist, a research worker in one of our Land Grant Colleges, there can be little question as to the exactness of the data given out or of the writer's objectivity in so far as this is possible in an autobiography.

The gradual but uninterrupted account of Dr. Filley's ascent of the "agricultural ladder" from farm boy to college professor is intriguing to all of us who are today engaged in comparable activities. Few of us, unfortunately, can as truthfully account that "every day was pleasant." If this book is to be criticized at all, the question might be raised as to why we are not exposed to some of the shadows as well as to the sunlight.

One of the most valuable chapters in the book, "The Long Depression," has a special appeal to the economically-minded reader. The author's personal opinions are restrained throughout the book, but in this section we gain a glimpse of his keen appreciation of basic economics through his criticism of contemporary policy makers. One worthy quotation, which might be extended to many current institutions is: "There was apparently a fear that persons who were sufficiently independent in thought or action might not exhibit sufficient reverence for the ideas of men in high positions, or for a planned economy."

ROBERT M. CARTER.
University of Vermont.

Outlines of Mohammedan Law. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee. London: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. xvi + 443. $5.00.

This systematic and brief textbook on Mohammedan law as administered in India has greater significance for Rural Sociology than one might judge offhand. The point four peoples between Russia and the United States, other than in Western Europe, are organized and governed more by the principles of Mohammedan law and its related codes than by any other social doctrine. We cannot understand or hope to cope with these rural peoples from Greece east to the borders of Indo-China and south in most of Africa unless we have a basic understanding of their social organization as inculcated in organic law.

The work itself is a treatise similar in format and apprehension to the Roman classic—Institutes of Justinian—and the English law *Commentaries* by Blackstone. It gives the basic historical development of the law code from the mental outlook of the Islamic Prophet and his jurists and the social conditions which gave birth to the movement in the sixth and seventh centuries. Then it summarizes the most accepted basic principles of the law as it exists today. It is easily comprehensible for the general reader.

Mohammedanism, like the code built around the *Novella* of Justinian, and all free rural law codes of today, is essentially personal law. This means that it is chiefly family law, or the law of basic social relations. Property to them is largely a family

dominion and its chief legal setting is in regard to marriage settlements, estates, inheritance and domestic situations. The major exceptions concern village rights and those of religious establishments. A knowledge of this basic orientation of life outside of the West and the Sovietized Slavic countries is essential to our present position as a world state and as a leader in the United Nations.

When the European-Mediterranean world of the fifth century broke down, it separated into three parts—Byzantine, Mohammedan and Western Christian. Of these three, only Western Christian had a severe dark age, one in which to the tenth century the light of civilization almost went out. The other two—Byzantine and Mohammedan—were reorganized on clearly conceived personal and family law bases by the Justinian *Novella* and Mohammedan law of the type analyzed in this book. They did not have a dark age of any seriousness. The similarity of conditions of challenge and the success of the response is signified by the remarkable similarity in the codes and the decisions concerning family matters in this work and the *Novella*. In a short review this basic sociological thesis cannot be elaborated, but it is suggested that this work be added to the rural sociological libraries. A similar analysis of the *Novella*, if such existed, would also be a very desirable addition to our knowledge.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.
Harvard University.

Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure. By Amos H. Hawley. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950. Pp. xvi + 456. $5.00.

Professor Hawley has completed a work begun by the late Professor R. D. McKenzie. Its purposes are to delineate a theoretical framework of human ecology, to integrate present materials within that frame of reference, and, in the process, to point out further investigation needed to validate hypotheses and enhance our knowledge of this subject.

Professor Hawley goes far toward accomplishing this task. The author is scrupulously honest in appraising his discipline. Throughout, he notes inconsistencies in interpretation, lack of empirical data, plausible but untested hypotheses, etc. He neither expands the field into "a study of all of life in relation to all of environment" nor restricts it to only spatial patternings. No mean accomplishment is that of delimiting human ecology.

Ecology in general concerns itself "not with mere aggregations of individuals but with their organization and integration in a community. That the community is the essential adaptive mechanism may be taken as the distinctive hypothesis of ecology." (p. 31). Human ecology is "the study of the form and the development of the community in human population—it is concerned mainly with the structural features of functional organization and with how these change in response to changes in external conditions" (pp. 68, 180), and is differentiated from related disciplines, more or less adequately. Professor Hawley avoids a deterministic interpretation, acknowledging the importance of cultural factors in shaping community organization. He likewise recognizes the psychological motivation of the individuals who compose the comunity. Conceding their importance, he insists that such factors are outside the scope of investigation of the ecologist. In a word, he stays within the limits he sets for himself.

The book has four major divisions. The first shows the common orientation of plant, animal, and human ecology. Although the case for an integrated science of ecology is weakened by the very recognition of cultural and psychological factors mentioned above, these chapters do serve to introduce the student to terminology used later. Part II consists of an adequate treatment of population; the third and fourth sections—"Ecological Organization" and "Change and Development"—contain the distinctive contributions of the work. The basic concepts

include categoric and corporate groups, independent and dependent communities, and the processes of expansion, conversion, and contraction.

There is, in the reviewer's opinion, an occasional tendency to overgeneralize the mechanistic approach inherent in the discipline, e.g., the acceptance of the S-curve of natural increase as an innate and universal law of population growth; broad generalizations concerning social organization among preliterates for which ethnological materials give abundant exceptions; the implication that one may automatically expect to find multiracial societies differentiated functionally along racial lines. In general, the use of tables and figures to support text materials is excellent, but on p. 142 the discussion contradicts data shown in Table 20.

Human Ecology is well suited for teaching purposes in departments offering such a course. It will also be useful to supplement the inadequate or garbled ecological presentation in some introductory sociology texts. In particular, chapter 12, on Community Structure, the very heart of the book, should prove valuable for this purpose. Several chapters are relevant for use in urban sociology courses. Finally, the volume is clearly written, and excellent chapter summaries add to its instructional value.

JOSEPH S. VANDIVER.
Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

Biography of a Country Church. By Garland A. Hendricks. Nashville: Rodman Press, 1950. Pp. xiv + 137. $2.00.

This is a folksy history of one of the most outstanding open-country rural churches of America. It was written by its brilliant young minister in commemoration of the church's 100th anniversary. The church, Olive Chapel, near Apex, Wake County, North Carolina, grew and became strong under the leadership of one minister who served as pastor for 30 years, from 1894 to 1926. At the end of its first 100 years, it boasted a membership of 360 residents and 200 nonresidents. Its annual budget runs in excess of $12,000, and it is housed in a large, modern, well-equipped, attractive building.

In recent years, with surprisingly little objection from its more conservative members, the church has become the social and recreational center for the rural people of the area. Partly because the local school was eliminated in the consolidation movement, the church has come to be the dominant institution in the life of the community. Other factors in the growth and financial strength of the church have been the economic recovery of agriculture in the area and the employment of many of its members in nearby towns and cities. Fortunately, a young and vigorous minister was available to make the most of these material advantages.

This brief history of a rural church deserves and will find a permanent place in the church history of rural America.

C. HORACE HAMILTON.
N. C. State College.

The Social and Economic Significance of Land Tenure in the Southwestern States: A Report of the Regional Land Tenure Research Project. By Harold Hoffsommer, Editor. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. xiv + 666. $6.00.

A significant contribution to land tenure literature is made in this comprehensive report on a major regional research project in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas. The major subject matter purpose of the research was "to determine and measure the relationship between the tenure status of the farm family and its economic and social performance" (p. 4). While the territorial scope of the study comprises the five-state area, the emphasis is upon subregions rather than upon the region as a whole. Although the cotton economy is characteristic of the entire area, the specific regional delineation arose more from the common interest of the research

workers in a program of research cooperation.

Four of the region's 21 major sub-regions were selected for study. Sample areas within each sub-region were selected for intensive survey. Methods of selection of sample areas and families varied by states. The intent was to get a sample for the purpose of showing relationships rather than to describe tenure for any sub-region or the area as a whole. Thus, for example, in Mississippi neighborhoods were selected within the designated sample counties and an attempt made to interview every family, regardless of tenure, within the selected areas. In Texas, sampling was by farms rather than farmers, using data from Agricultural Adjustment Administration records to select farms in specified farm-size and tenure categories. Original farm and family schedules from the four sub-regions totaled 1,841 (with some minor exclusions noted in Table 1) while most of the basic general analysis rests upon 1,662 such schedules (Table 2).

This report is divided into eleven chapters prepared by nine persons:

I. The Problem and the Region—Harold Hoffsommer and Harald Pedersen; II. Tenure and Farm Organization—Howard J. Stover; III. Tenure and Family Status—Merton D. Oyler; IV. Factors Related to Changes in Tenure Status—Ralph J. Ramsey; V. Leasing Arrangements and Landlord-tenant Relationships—Ralph J. Ramsey; VI. Land Tenure and Soil Conservation—J. Hoyle Southern; VII. Legal Aspects of Land Tenure and Farm Credit—Erling D. Solberg; VIII. Use and Sources of Capital—Raleigh Barlowe; IX. Impacts of Federal Programs on Tenure—J. Joe Reed; X. Community and Institutional Factors in Tenure—Merton D. Oyler; and XI. Summary and Conclusions—Harold Hoffsommer.

The 432 pages of text are followed by two appendixes on methodology, 147 tables, and a bibliography of tenure studies in the region. There are 32 figures.

Chapter titles are symbolic of the interdisciplinary approach used, drawing on land economics, farm management, rural sociology, law and government. Hoffsommer, in the final chapter, summarizes the observations in terms of three types of questions: "(1) What differences in the social and economic performance of farm families are incident to their tenure status? (2) What are the chief factors conditioning the particular tenure status of a farm family? (3) What are the underlying factors which influence tenure status and how are they related to individual farm families?" (p. 403).

This book reports such a vast amount of data of such a wide range, although related to tenure, that a brief review must be inadequate. The findings emphasize the complexity and variability of tenure phenomena. One of the most significant sentences is, "One of the broad findings of the study is that the tenure arrangements of an individual are meaningful chiefly in relation to the local environment in which the arrangements occur" (p. 403). Holders of certain stereotypes as to tenure relationships and lovers of broad generalizations find little comfort in the statement that "the definite relationships were so hard to establish that in several instances the workers became skeptical at times as to whether tenure factors showed any definite relation to performance. . . ." (p. 403).

The data on family and parental factors in tenure status will be of particular interest to some. Although the policy aspects are to be in a separate report, those interested in the sociological aspects of public policy will find grist for other than the mills of tenure policy. The analysis of Farm Security borrower-nonborrower families makes a much needed addition to rural rehabilitation literature. The chapter on "Community and Institutional Factors in Tenure" is one of the most promising, sociologically, but fails to fully exploit the neighborhood descriptions to give a situational analysis of tenure. The use of Sewell, migration and fertility scales are of methodological interest.

This is an able, solid piece of work. But in

one sense it is disappointing because, despite the 48 previous major tenure studies in the five states and many other studies in other states, and despite the resources put into the present project—so much remains to be done for sociological understanding of tenure, even in the Southwest. One wonders whether this is wholly a function of the complexity of the phenomenon. Perhaps, at least for sociologists, it would be worth trying a *more sociological* analysis.

OLAF F. LARSON.
Cornell University.

Dictionary of Modern Economics. By Byrne J. Horton, Julien Ripley, and M. B. Schnapper. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948. Pp. ix + 365. $5.00.

Dictionary of Modern Economics is exactly what its name suggests. It is an alphabetic arrangement of economic terms and concepts with concise definitions or explanations. Included, also, are terms of business, finance and commerce; digests of laws bearing on economic activities; condensations of Supreme Court decisions; and names of leading economists with short sketches of their lives and works.

Because economics is not an exact science, and because many terms mean different things to different people, the authors have seriously attempted to give the more commonly accepted meaning to economic terms. "In short, this Dictionary is a short-cut through the jungle of theories, propositions, generalities, legalisms, and professional gobbledygook which has sprung up in recent years." (From inside cover.)

It is the first publication of this sort since the publication of *Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy* in 1894. It must be added promptly, however, that it is in no sense such an exhaustive and comprehensive a work as that of Palgrave. This is a one-volume work of 365 pages, while Palgrave's is a three-volume work of almost a thousand pages each. Yet, a careful perusal of the work reveals that it is a remarkable handbook for ready reference wherein is found concise, yet accurate definitions and explanations for terms which are often very hazy or blurred in the mind of many. Furthermore, it is definitely modern and up-to-date. For example, you will find cobweb theorem, indifference curves, acceleration principle, multiplier, oligopoly, and many others.

Legislative acts and court decisions are quickly found, such as Taft-Hartley Act, Schechter Case, Jones-Costigan Sugar Act, Export-Import Bank, etc. All Schools, or Systems of Economic Thought, are included, as Classical Economics, Austrian School, Mercentilism and Keynesian Economics, to mention only a few. On the biographic side, an amazing number of economists are mentioned and virtually all the noted ones of past eras are included. Quite naturally Ricardo and Böhm-Bawerk are included, but so are Louis Blanc and Proudhon. Among outstanding economists, contemporary and recent, many are omitted, some of whom, the reviewer feels should have been included, such as R. T. Ely, Tugan-Baranowsky and Albert Aftalion. They are missing. Yet, we do find, and rightly so, John R. Commons, Schumpeter, Viner, Veblen, Hansen, Hayek, Keynes, Taussig and many more. The authors admit that they have had aid and assistance from many economists both as to inclusions and exclusions, and in making definitions and explanations most generally accepted. So, undoubtedly there is a definite concensus regarding the work as a whole.

Granting that perfection is impossible—"Who thinks a faultless piece to see, thinks what ne'er is nor was, nor e'er shall be"—anyone who places this volume in his office will have available a splendid handbook for ready reference.

H. L. MCCRACKEN.
Louisiana State University.

Social Problems in America. By Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949. Pp. v + 721. $4.00.

Here is a stimulating source book on the common social problems in America. The

authors have selected, from a wide field of competent writers, a wealth of materials dealing with a wide variety of social problems.

There is no attempt to make a debate manual on social problems out of the book. The knowledge of facts is regarded by the authors as the starting point in any attempt to cope with social problems. The authors feel that "what can be done becomes fairly evident" if the facts are known.

The book is divided into eight sections. There is an introductory chapter to each section which "sets the stage" for the section and provides a frame of reference for the choice of materials and the intent of their inclusion at that particular place. An extensive bibliography, and carefully selected cross references, are appended to each chapter.

The attempt to compile such a work is obviously fraught with the danger of too subjective a choice of materials. The authors go a long way in reducing this danger by their generous inclusion of a considerable bibliography of information taking issue with the specific choices which they have made.

The total effect of the book is good. The language is dignified and mature. The student, directed to its use, will see social problems as a part of the context of his personal social experience and not as abstract facts in a text book.

THEODORE C. SCHEIFELE.
Thiel College.

The Public Library in the United States. The general report of the Public Library Inquiry. By Robert D. Leigh. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xii + 273. $3.75.

Three years ago the American Library Association requested the Social Science Research Council, in the author's words, ". . . to appraise public libraries in terms of their own stated objectives and to appraise the appropriateness of the objectives themselves against the background of American social and cultural institutions and values." (Pp. 3-4) Given a grant of $200,000 by the Carnegie Corporation, the S. S. R. C. appointed an inter-disciplinary advisory committee with Dr. Leigh as director. In this General Report he gives the essence of over 3,000 pages of staff reports and memoranda of the Public Library Inquiry, incorporating the major findings and implications of the 19 projects executed by the 24 staff members and the director. Though most of the special studies used quantitative methods extensively, the author presents a minimum of tabular data. Hence anyone wanting details of methodology and quantitative findings will need to refer to the special project reports, eleven of which are available either in published or mimeographed form.

The General Report begins with a brief chapter on the P. L. I. itself including a statement of the value assumptions underlying the study. Next is a report on "the library faith," the current official objectives of librarians, and the major points of dissent by librarians. The third chapter is a superb report on the modern mass media "communications revolution," and the consequent "natural and appropriate role of the public library in our society." (P. 46) The next seven chapters analyze and appraise the adequacy of public libraries in the United States in terms of ". . . Structure, [materials,] services, organization, support, operational procedures, and personnel . . ." (P. 52) The final chapter is a resume of the whole with explicit recommendations for U. S. public library development during the next decade. Emphasis is given to the organization of larger, fewer and better public library systems. The figure of $100,000 is set ". . . as the present annual minimum required for a library system giving adequate modern service . . ." (P. 261) Only about 2 per cent of the 7,400 public libraries now measure up to this standard. (P. 54) The work concludes with an appendix on methods and sources, and an index.

Dr. Leigh, with the cooperation of numerous librarians and the aid of his many associates on the Inquiry, has made in this

reviewer's judgment an outstandingly thorough and honest appraisal of the contemporary American public library. To a degree rarely attained by the social scientist he has achieved the desirable balance of discipline and enthusiasm in diagnosing, prescribing for, and giving the prognosis of a complex and highly important social institution. Rural sociologists, both as citizens and as social scientists, should want to inform themselves about the Public Library Inquiry, and would do well to begin with this book.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.
Wayne University.

The People of Atlanta. By C. A. McMahan. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1950. Pp. xxiii + 257. $4.00.

The author labels this work an analysis of the demography of Atlanta in which the subject matter is presented in meaningful form in relationship to other large urban populations in the nation. Unfortunately the study fails to explore adequately the meaningful aspects of the demography of this southern community. The book is largely a compartmentalized collection of facts about the people of Atlanta in which analysis is minimal and insufficient.

The study is replete with tables, graphs and maps. Certain cartographic techniques will be particularly confusing to the lay reader whom the author acknowledges as part of his intended audience since some maps are not strictly comparative. The review of literature, which perhaps was pertinent to the work in its original thesis form, is largely superfluous in the present volume. A large portion of the material deals with population differentials existent among the various census tracts within the city. Yet no mention is made of significant ecological hypotheses that would furnish a basis for establishing or rejecting relationships. The data on migration and occupational distribution are particularly scant. The bibliography fails to include any of the materials by Daniel O. Price on inter-urban migrations, which included Atlanta. Also some useful monographs on occupational trends in various Georgia cities that were issued by the Works Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration during the period 1937-1940 are not shown.

In general, most statements in the study are adequately qualified although some relapses from this practice do appear. But too much reliance is placed on statistical information as constituting real and objective fact. This situation is indicated by such statements as appear on page 179 that ". . . in 1940 about 18 per cent of the native population of Atlanta has been born in states other than Georgia; however, most of these people had come to Atlanta from other southern states and particularly those adjacent to Georgia. One might say then that Atlanta does not qualify as a cosmopolitan city but can be classified as a provincial city." The author fails to indicate that types of migrants may be more significant than numbers of migrants in the creation of a cosmopolitan atmosphere. The role of the branch house manager from the home office is an important one in this city.

The People of Atlanta obviously involved a great deal of work. It has materials that will be of use to persons who want information about this city. But the end product of this effort in urban demography should have been better.

SOLOMON SUTKER.
Oklahoma A. & M. College.

The Pursuit of Plenty. By A. G. Mezerik. Harper & Bros., 1950. 209 pp. $2.50.

The Cost and Financing of Social Security. By Lewis Meriam, Karl T. Schlotterbeck, and Mildred Maroney. Brookings Institute Publication, 1950. 193 pp. $3.00.

The Social Costs of Private Enterprise. By K. William Kapp. Harvard University Press, 1950. 287 pp. $4.50.

There is a measure of unity in these three books. It is the emphasis, or lack of it, on social costs and the degree of prejudice in the direction of "old-fashioned" thoughts akin to those of "old-fashioned" men.

Mezerik's book, *The Pursuit of Plenty*, is a direct attack on the thought and action patterns of old-fashioned men. It is a telling rebuttal against the dismal picture painted by Osborne and Voigt on the problems of population pressure. Mezerik's book might have been written by a social scientist except for the lag in social science courage, action and, perhaps, even thought.

Though a journalist, Mezerik does a creditable piece of work in showing that the pursuit of plenty is the most workable solution of our problems. Though he does not use the expression social cost, his thesis deals with that subject, and his "old-fashioned men" are those who have consistently shifted such costs to third parties and the public.

By creating the necessary concepts and the needed organization, coupled with the constructive use of knowledge and science, Mezerik believes it is possible to have the vision and the courage so that "men can remake themselves and their culture."

The second book, *The Cost and Financing of Social Security*, by Meriam, Schlotterbeck, and Maroney, exemplifies the "old-fashioned" ties that bind men. There is a bookkeeping analysis of a social cost item without the use of the concept of social cost.

The reviewer, far from the center of knowledge and foundation funds such as the Brookings Institute draws, hoped to get a basic insight into the social security movement, especially as it might apply to the rural, the self-employed, and the sparsely populated segments of the economy. Instead he found a bookkeeper's approach, liberally sprinkled with such biased expressions as "burdensome," "stupendous," "cumbersome," and "too costly."

Nowhere in the study did the authors once recognize that the nation had a social security program prior to the formal legislation in 1935. It was the security achieved through ownership of property—ownership equity for old age, ill health, and unemployment. Not once did these authors refer to the "great costs," "the "stupendous burden" and the "cumbersome weight" of that social security program—the tendency to capitalize income into land and property values, and the resultant excessive cost for old age protection, the excessive mortgage foreclosure and loss through tax delinquency and the consequent loss of social security, the unpredictability of ownership equity, and the related insecurity of old age.

These phases, too, are a part of our social security experience of the past. Before any balance sheet can be established for the present Social Security Program, it is necessary to measure its size, cost and benefits against the size, cost, and benefits of the older program. To do this, old fashioned tools and concepts must give way to more appropriate tools. This the authors of *The Cost and Financing of Social Security* did not accomplish.

The third book, *The Social Costs of Private Enterprise*, is timely, challenging and realistic. The reviewer is pleased to see that the professional economist is ready to discard some of his old-fashioned protective mechanism and launch out on this subject. Any one who looked with a discriminating eye on the social life of the Nation during the thirties, and especially that of the Great Plains in the thirties, the mechanization that has followed since and the price policy in effect these past two decades, has been long aware of the scientific need of the concept. Kapp has made a real contribution in his analysis.

Kapp's work is not that of an old fashioned approach, but a dynamic contribution that the rural and the general sociologist can employ without being dissected by the economist. Social costs are the area in which sociologist and economist can join hands.

CARL F. KRAENZEL
Montana State College.

The Community of Man. By Hugh Miller. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. 169. $3.00.

This volume is great in at least three senses: its scope, the problems with which it deals, and its vision for the future of man-

kind. The author, Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles, writes with an evangelical ardor as well as with sensitivity and sincerity. Occasionally the style becomes involved and difficult to follow. Since the book deals with the weightiest considerations in a small compass, it is not an easy volume to read.

What the author aims at is the construction of a fundamental social philosophy. Since he limits philosophy to rational knowledge which includes only arithmetic and logic, he prefers to call his way of thinking evolutionary science. He interprets evolution not as the development of individuals or of species but of breeding populations. Such breeding populations are required to make two sorts of adaptations; group adaptation, by which he means such intra-population adjustments as make for fertility in the individual and fecundity in the group; and external adaptation which includes adjustments to other groups and to the non-living environment. The growing edge of organic life has been carried by groups in which group adaptation was relatively strong. Groups in which external adaptation was strong became so well adapted to a particular environmental setting that they lost flexibility, became fixed, and ultimately died out. On this foundation he rears his value theory: "Good, therefore, is any numerical increase of life. Population increase means value increase." (P. 93)

In our day, he continues, two contrasting social systems have developed: Russia and the United States. The first stands as the champion of the collective, the second as the champion of the individual. Each needs the corrective the other's emphasis suggests. What is now required of us as evolutionary bearers of life is to understand that both systems can exist contemporaneously in one world. When we have achieved this insight, we must maintain the population vigor of our own group, learning from the Russian society the importance of collective values, and giving them in our own example a perpetual reminder of individual values. If we do this, "we shall still be God, finding creation good, and bringing heaven and earth to greater splendor." (p. 169)

Sociologists will find here a discerning criticism of evolutionary theory from the evolutionary point of view. Ethicists will be interested in the brave effort to give the good a quantifiable expression. Religious persons will sense here a religious spirit who, having jettisoned any belief in a transcendent deity, still seeks to discover a redemptive spirit in the world. Citizens will find here an earnest consideration of their weightiest problems. It would be easy for this reviewer to criticise the many points in the volume with which he finds himself in disagreement; but he prefers to recognize it rather as a great challenge to harder and more concerned thinking on his own part.

ROCKWELL C. SMITH.
Garrett Biblical Institute.

Sociology for a Democratic Society. By Raymond W. Murray. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. Pp. ix + 407. $3.00.

This book is the work of a scholar who is not only familiar with the ideas generally presented in a first course in Sociology but is familiar with the history of those ideas as well. And evidently he believes that sociology students will have a more adequate comprehension of their subject matter if they become familiar with the high-points in the evolution of its concepts. But the author by no means confines his discussions of ideas to the past. He usually finishes his discussion of an idea or concept by indicating its significance relative to some very recent or present event in human experience. For example, he ends his discussion of race (and the attitudes attached to the concept) by indicating its role in the ideological conflict between communism and democracy today. Indeed, throughout the entire text its author finds ways of applying ideas he discusses to the present-day world and thereby makes sociology a living subject. Furthermore, he writes in simple language and with admirable clarity.

This new textbook is entirely free from footnotes. Most of the references listed at the ends of chapters bear dates later than 1946. Following the text material are fifteen pages of "selected reading." Not a single picture graces or mars the book nor does it contain even one statistical table.

In the preface the statement is made that this book, "designed as a textbook for use in a single-semester college course in Sociology for beginners, is a brief outline of the material usually covered in a longer introductory sociology course" (p. vii). This last clause accurately describes the contents of the book for in it one will find discussed practically every topic presented in the more ponderous tomes, (e.g., Murray: *Introductory Sociology*, New York, 2nd edition, 1947, pp. xii-990).

In a closing chapter entitled "Sociology and Social Thought" the author sets forth clearly and decisively in brief space the meaning and implication of the positivistic-naturalistic approach to sociology in contrast to the value-judgment approach. He very definitely espouses the latter and states that this text "is an attempt to present sociology within the framework of our basic Judeo-Christian tradition" (pp. viii-ix). Such a declaration prepares the reader to expect moral evaluations. These, however, are neither numerous nor prominently displayed. Rather, one is impressed with the calm, objective, factual, historical presentations designed to produce understanding rather than stir emotions. The value-judgment approach is manifest, however, on some occasions.

This textbook, as was stated above, is a short one compared to others not because any of the topics usually presented in a first course are omitted but because they are treated in an abbreviated and concentrated way. This fact repeatedly raised in the reviewer's mind a pedagogical issue, namely, will such concentrated presentations tempt students to memorize them rather than to comprehend. The answer, no doubt, will depend in part upon the intellectual maturity of the students who use this text.

S. C. RATCLIFFE.
Illinois Wesleyan University.

An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Vol. I. By Ralph Piddington. Edinburgh & London: Oliver and Boyd, 1950. Pp. xxvi + 442. 25s.

This is the first volume of a scheduled two volume work. The second volume, to appear at a later date, is to be entitled "Applied Anthropology" and will deal with the application of anthropological principles, as viewed by the "functionalists," to existing communities. The present volume is a systematic approach to culture and society based largely on the work of Malinowski but showing the influence also of Radcliffe-Brown and Firth.

The basis of the present publication is a theory of "needs," classified as: (1) Primary (those which man shares with other animals); (2) Derived, (the satisfaction of biological needs through human communities as regulated by human culture); (3) Integrative (need for social control without which men could not live in groups). Upon this base is built an analysis of social institutions defined by Piddington as "systems of human activity," classified under the rubrics of economic, political, educational, magico-religious, etc., and forming sections in the present work. The fundamental philosophical assumption is that culture is "an organic unity of which every element is related to every other." It is this which gives cohesiveness to the whole of his working theory. And it is this, as well as the systematic approach to land tenure as one aspect of man's ecological adaptation, that is likely to be of greatest interest to rural sociologists.

The main sections of the work deal with the principles of cultural analysis, brief surveys of Asia, Oceania, Africa and America, and detailed analysis of the principles involved in social organization, food and wealth, land tenure, primitive law and religion and magic.

Mechanically, the book is well ordered and contains three features of particular use: (1) separate notes to students and teachers in the preface; (2) bibliographic commentaries at the end of each chapter; (3) an "Ethnographic Directory" of tribes and terms at the end of the work.

KENNETH E. TIEDKE.
Michigan State College.

Small Town Renaissance. By Richard Waverly Poston. New York: Harper and Bros., 1950. Pp. x + 231. $3.00.

The sub-title of this book is a story of what is designated as "The Montana Study." The reader will find that the study is really an ambitious and pioneering experiment in adult education. Its objective is succinctly described by the phrase "to get the university off the campus," but the accomplishment of that objective actually involved much more than a traditional program of extension departments. The real purpose was to help people enrich their living in local communities throughout the state.

The method used to accomplish the objectives of the project was to encourage residents in local communities to study systematically their problems and to solve those problems by democratic methods. To aid in achieving these objectives a ten weeks study guide was prepared. The project was carried on by a small, but enthusiastic and competent, staff which had headquarters at the university, though it was not an integral part of the university program. Finances for the undertaking were provided by a grant of $25,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation, for a three-year period.

In this book the origin of the study and the methods which the leaders used are described in an objective and detailed way. The major part is a series of chapters, each dealing with a particular community. After a brief description of the ecology of the community, the origin, progress, and results of the study program are described in a way which holds the interest of the reader. The narrative method is used throughout. Since the inter-relationships of the numerous factors involved in community situations are not described in detail the various chapters cannot qualify as case studies. Indeed more emphasis on methods and principles of procedure in relation to particular community situations would seem to be in order. The alert reader will find, however, some references to methodology interspersed among the descriptive statements. The public relations aspect of the study is discussed in sufficient detail to show how important it is in projects of this type. Almost from the beginning, it would seem, the Montana study was encumbered by misunderstandings and skepticism regarding its purposes.

The book will certainly be of interest and value to all persons who are concerned with the development of local communities, for although the study was made in Montana the problems it was concerned with exist in communities everywhere whenever they try to make democracy effective. The results of the study reaffirm again the effectiveness of the democratic approach in community affairs. Though it is unfortunate, perhaps it is incidental that the state legislature of Montana did not appropriate funds for the continuation of the project at the expiration of the three-year period. The value of community self study to improve living has been amply demonstrated.

CHARLES R. HOFFER.
Michigan State College.

The Social Welfare Forum. Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1949. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xiv + 312. $4.25.

Social Work in the Current Scene. Selected Papers; National Conference of Social Work, 1949. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. ix + 392. $4.75.

Within the covers of these two volumes will be found an up-to-date and relatively complete statement of the aims and methods of the social work program and the social work profession. The theme of the Conference at this meeting was called "Toward a Better Life—the positive role of Social

Work in Resolving Social Conflict and Attaining Social Goals." The breadth of this theme is unquestionable: it is the same one which the Conference has had for most of its 75 annual meetings but particularly at the annual meetings since World War I, and it still serves quite adequately to characterize the program of that annual twelve-ring circus known as the National Conference of Social Work.

The papers in these two volumes present ample evidence that the National Conference is a "social welfare forum." There is some intellectual sparkle, some emotional froth and much rehashing of the obvious, but there are papers, like those by Louis Wirth and Eveline M. Burns, which illustrate the fine statesmanship which struggles to rise above the mediocre in social work. Some of the papers relating to social work practice, such as those by James Russell Dumpson, Donald Van Valen and John S. Morgan, present good technical discussion of the problems of social workers.

The first volume contains the papers read at the morning and evening general sessions of the Conference and, in addition, short summaries of section meetings. It states the "viewpoint" of those who practice social work and those who are more concerned with ideas and policy. The second volume contains the raw stuff of which social work is made: the social security program, the function of social group work in the community, meeting the needs of children, differentiation of social casework from other kinds of psycho-social treatment and some more philosophy. A number of these papers should be useful reading for students.

Particular attention may be called to two observations made by the reviewer: first, it is my judgment that these volumes contain less space devoted to psychiatry and more devoted to social-economic matters than similar volumes of the last 15 years; and, second, one is struck by the thinness of the factual basis in far too many of the papers.

R. CLYDE WHITE.
Western Reserve University.

Human Ecology. By James A. Quinn. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. Pp. vii + 561. $5.00.

Quinn has a very readable book on human ecology and he is precise in his statement of what the text is supposed to do. He points out that the theory of human ecology has not fully emerged from its early formative state. He feels that sufficient progress has been made, however, to warrant a systematic, critical stocktaking of its accumulated data and theory. The book is divided into three main parts. He has a detailed account of the structure and planning of areas in the first part, processes underlying areal change in the second part, and an interpretation of spatial distribution in the last part. The text is particularly complete on the treatment of the urban material but leaves much to be desired from the rural point of view. In his treatment of rural areas no mention is made of the cultural studies conducted by George Hill at Wisconsin nor of his use of the culture-area concept. In addition, there is some recent work which is not mentioned in his bibliography on rural community studies. In fact, most of it does not go beyond the early 1940's. Although the urban material is very well treated I could not find any particular references of suburban or fringe developments such as Wehrwein's material at Wisconsin and Firey's treatment of Lansing, Michigan.

In spite of these shortcomings, it is a very useful book and every rural sociologist will find it a valuable addition to the field not only from a teaching point of view but also in terms of research.

DOUGLAS G. MARSHALL.
University of Minnesota.

Social Psychology. By S. Stanfeld Sargent. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950. Pp. x + 519. $4.50.

This is one of five texts in social psychology appearing during the year which have at least taken cognizance of the interactional approach. The author is well aware that social psychology is an interstitial discipline. He wants to get away from "a predominant-

ly psychological or sociological orientation" toward a better integration of the two. He hopes to realize this objective by stressing "a field approach which includes learning and personality dynamics, situational factors, and persons' perceptions and interpretations of social situations." The author describes himself as "a psychologically trained social psychologist, a part of whose graduate study was done in the social sciences" and who has worked extensively with sociologists in teaching the social psychology course. The content of the book and the name index shows the author's acquaintance with the literature in the field.

The material is organized and presented in four sections and 20 chapters. Part I entitled "Socialization of the Individual" treats biological and cultural backgrounds, personality and social learning. The second section on the "Dynamics of Social Behavior" deals with motivation, frustration and ego-development. The part describing the "Patterning of Social Behavior" treats communication, roles, groups and leadership. The final section presents a discussion of topics usually treated in the field of collective behavior, public opinion, propaganda, social movements and group prejudice. This section is concluded by a near summary and by an elaboration of the position that social psychological concepts can be useful in understanding and solving social problems.

How well the author has realized his objective of integrating the contributions from both psychology and sociology is a moot question, but at least a serious attempt has been made. A fuller integration of motivation with social structure into a highly useful theory of interaction is, of course, dependent upon much more extensive research with the "individual-group" orientation.

A very readable book for undergraduates has been produced. One might wish for more extensive treatment and more explicit definition of concepts at certain points. It is doubtful, however, if this objective together with readability for underclassmen can be realized in 500 relatively small pages.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.
Mississippi State College.

Production and Welfare of Agriculture. By Theodore W. Schultz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. xi + 225. $3.50.

"The aim of this study is to formulate the necessary principles, rules, and procedures for achieving meaningful policy objectives affecting agricultural production and the welfare of farm people." In attempting to carry out this aim, Professor Schultz points up the vagueness and inconsistency of our agricultural policy. His digressions and comments concerning the beliefs and values held by the people of this country, whether in high office or at the dirt roots, add a great deal of interest to the essays which comprise the book.

Each of the 18 chapters is written as a separate theme. If the book were to be criticized, it would be on this lack of unity. Subjects treated include discussions of "Equality for Agriculture as a Policy Goal," "Effects of Employment upon Factor Costs in Agriculture," "Spot and Future Prices as Production Guides," and "Supporting Agricultural Prices by Concealed Dumping." Professor Schultz's ability to probe beneath the surface of some of our economic dogma brings light to such questions as the place of the family farm in an efficient economy and the over-valuation of farm products. He also insists that the problem of rural poverty be considered along with the inefficient use of resources in production.

The chapter in which the family farm is defined and appraised in its economic, social, and political setting deserves special mention. This one chapter alone would justify the publication.

In the chapter devoted to the Brannan Plan, many criticisms and few commendations were given to that proposal. Dr. Schultz points out many features of the Plan that he feels are at fault: one, it would lead to further over-valuation of farm

products; another, it would give economic benefits principally to the farmers needing them least. He stresses the fact that some method must be devised "to ascertain with reasonable accuracy when a depression is at hand and when it is over." The weaknesses of prices based on parity are also pointed out. "One of the unfortunate legacies of the Great Depression is a widespread loss of faith in the efficacy of free markets." Rational economic decisions are almost impossible in a society without a relatively free market wherein the value relationships of one good to another may be determined. With the passage of time predetermined prices have less and less relation to reality.

ROBERT M. CARTER.
University of Vermont.

The Psychology of Mental Health. By Louis P. Thorpe. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. xiii + 747. $5.00.

This is a well written volume of 20 chapters covering an exceedingly broad range of topics related to mental health. It is designed primarily as a textbook for college courses, but is sufficiently nontechnical to be readable by thoughtful parents, teachers, and others wishing to gain basic orientation in the mental health field.

The first part of this book defines the problem and meaning of mental health, summarizes the important facts and figures about the incidence of personality disorders, and describes the origin and development of the mental hygiene movement. Part two deals with the psychodynamics of mental health. Instinctual and psychoanalytic views are reviewed, but the concept of fundamental social and emotional needs is accepted as the explanatory principle which accounts for man's tendencies to act in given ways.

Part three incorporates pertinent material pertaining to the nature of personality and to its development and measurement as related to mental health. Part four contains chapters dealing with minor personality, maladjustments, psychomatic disorders, hostile behavior, sexual deviations, the neuroses, and functional psychoses.

The fifth and final section of this book deals in a general way with methods used by clinicians in diagnosing and treating social and emotional ills, and with approaches toward the improvement of mental health. Development of the idea that mental health improvement depends upon improvement of family, school, and community life will be of especial interest to sociologists.

A fair appraisal of this book must assign to it a very high degree of excellence as a textbook. It may be pointed out, however, that it presents many points of view rather uncritically. It consistently adheres to the thesis that childhood experiences lay the foundations for mental health in later life. Otherwise it is highly eclectic in its treatment of the subject matter and is therefore subject to the usual faults as well as the virtues of eclecticism. The unguided reader approaching the subject of mental health for the first time may find himself confused with conflicting points of view as presented here.

A useful feature of this volume is an appendix consisting of a 24-page glossary of technical terms.

A. R. MANGUS.
The Ohio State University.

Land Problems and Policies. Edited by John F. Timmons and William G. Murray. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1950. Pp. x + 298.

This book brings together the papers presented in the lectures at the Land Economics Institute held at Iowa State College in the summer of 1949. Three chapters dealing with specialized aspects of land use were from the Seminar lectures of the U.S.D.A. Graduate School. The editors are members of the staff of Iowa State College. Each chapter is contributed by an outstanding authority in land economics, or in a closely associated field in which land use is a vital part. In all, sixteen persons had a part in the authorship, including the final chapter by the senior editor.

The order of presentation of the material is quite logical. A brief introduction describes the plan of the book, the relationships among the various phases covered, and their place in the field of emphasis. The statement of objectives by Schickele provides the general setting for the later chapters. The next three chapters analyze in sequence important aspects of the man-land ratio in different areas of the world (Thompson), of the farm land resources (Kellogg and Barnes), and of the fundamental principles of land utilization (S. E. Johnson). Except for the population analysis, the treatment is restricted largely to conditions in the United States.

The main body of the subject matter is made up of six chapters dealing with specific land uses—farm lands (Bennett), range lands (Renne), water resources (Clawson), forestry (Harrison), recreation (Griffith), and wildlife management (Gabrielson). These are mainly descriptive, pointing out past development, and present status, with a brief analysis of programs and need in dealing with prevailing problems. Attention then turns to tenure aspects of land as found in the family farm (Ackerman) and the public interest in private land. (Penn).

The final three chapters deal with broad aspects of the field. The importance of "planning" in bringing about desirable adjustments (W. Johnson) sets the framework for the many problems presented in the early chapters. How programs dealing with land fit into general public policy (Jesness) brings the land problems into their relationship to other segments of society. In a very fitting ending to the discussion Timmons sets forth steps and needs in building a land policy.

The book is well written and for one with so many different authors, is surprisingly well integrated. Each chapter has a list of "Selected References," which include writings of leaders in land economics, and closely allied fields.

The material is the most up-to-date presentation in book form now available and should be well received especially for reference uses.

R. J. SAVILLE.

Mississippi State College.

Brooklyn is America. By Ralph Foster Weld. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. ix + 266. $3.50.

Local histories are rather infrequent in the United States. The old subscription volume in which local lights were "written up" with a portrait, if one could afford the extra cost—has gone its way. In its stead the journalistic local story now appears with a considerable array of factual material, very carefully chosen with an eye to local sensitivities, with appropriate emphasis on the local virtues and careful explanations of embarrassing local episodes. Naturally in the present case, since these materials were first published in a local newspaper.

Within these limitations Dr. Weld has produced a very interesting well-written illustrated volume. His material is organized in terms of the language and racial groups that have appeared in a long series in Brooklyn: Dutch, Irish, German, Jewish, Italian, Negro and a host of smaller groups. While the author believes that this fusion of cultures that has gone on for so long in Brooklyn is the essential historic and cultural fact of America, he could have used the same material to support the contrary thesis: Brooklyn is *not* America. Brooklynites who may have ventured outside their community circle and outsiders who have strayed to Brooklyn would be apt to agree with such a change in title.

The simple fact is that Brooklyn despite its superficial cosmopolitanism is still a loose federation of villages and provinces with sufficient bread-and-butter coordination to constitute a working whole, but not sufficient cultural integration to raise it much above the level of strict provincialism. It takes little imagination to hear the vast laughter and occasional indignant snorts with which this title will be received in Boston, Texas, Chicago, California, and

other self-conscious American provinces, nor to visualize its effect on the already well-developed Brooklyn ego.

ERLE F. YOUNG.
The University of Southern California.

Catholic Social Thought: Its Approach to Contemporary Problems. By Melvin J. Williams. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. xv + 567. $5.00.

Dr. Williams of Florida State University has written a comprehensive study of the varied contributions of principally Catholic American and English scholars to all the social sciences and social work up to about 1943. This compendium is an outgrowth of ten years of intensive study and research.

The author examines the nature of the 'Catholic' social philosophy and its influence upon the 'Catholic' social scientist, especially the sociologist. This frame of reference is utilized in the six parts of the monograph: backgrounds and development of Catholic social thought; Catholic contribution to sociological theory; cultural and historical aspects of contemporary Catholic social theory; sociological trends in contemporary Catholic economic, political, and legal thought; some application of sociological theory to the study of social groups and social problems, and retrospect and prospect.

Williams, while recognizing that the 'Catholic' sociology is colored by theology and philosophy, comments that it would appear that "those Catholics who wish to rule out the ordinate autonomy of sociology as a science as hindering the development of logically independent sociological research which might throw some light upon the truth or falsity of the science itself" (pp. 133-134).

Concerning the contributions of Catholic students to the understanding of rural culture, he observes that the Catholic rural sociologists "have alrealy made some important contributions from the standpoint of both empirical studies of special aspects of rural life and synthetic analyses of rural culture" (p. 327).

The main shortcomings of the work are: it attempts to cover too vast an area, thus, by necessity it is sketchy; although published in 1950, it is dated in view of rapid currents since 1943; no mention is made of the current emphasis on pure sociology, for example, the Fordham school under Timasheff; in many instances, the influence of certain men is incorrectly evaluated; Catholic University and Kerby are no longer as influential as the author insists—Harvard, Columbia, Chicago and Fordham have become very influential in Catholic circles.

CHESTER A. JURCZAK.
College of New Rochelle, N. Y.

Sociological Analysis: An Introductory Text and Case Book. By Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949. Pp. xviii + 866. $5.00.

The evaluation of this text can be best accomplished by discussing separately the specific genre to which it belongs and the way in which it meets the standards of works of this category. As to the genre, the book is an anthology of sociological passages from many writers, setting forth concepts or describing social phenomena and processes which are selected to illustrate a sociological system proposed by the authors of the text. Several similarly construed texts were compiled in this country in the past, and one of these, in particular, is brought to mind by a reading of Wilson and Kolb's *Sociological Analysis*, namely Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* of about a quarter of a century ago. As a matter of fact the *Sociological Analysis* is in a way "functionally" an exact replica of the earlier classic. The earlier book, though studied and read by many, had a weakness with reference to its primary objective. Written as a text, it did not fit too well any particular level of students. It was too difficult an introduction for an undergraduate, but when assigned to graduate students, it was somewhat below the level of their capacities and

needs. There is no question in the mind of this reviewer that also this text will face a similar problem. The brief introductory statements by the authors of the book at the beginning of each topic are decidedly too abstract to have real meaning for a beginning student. They do not form a continuous reading either because of all the intervening material. A beginner cannot be expected to piece together a system of sociology out of these fragments. It will be equally difficult for him to discern the relevant aspects in the selected passages which, after all, are mostly parts of larger works and naturally reflect the purpose of the broader context from which they are taken. It takes an experienced sociologist to really appreciate the finesse of this genre of presenting a sociological system by piecing together a mosaic. This reviewer is aware of the arguments pro, especially the advantage of putting the student in direct contact with "real" sociological writing rather than a dehydrated restatement in a text. But the shortcomings of this approach outweigh the advantages.

As to the manner in which Wilson and Kolb accomplished their task of producing a text of this type, one should acknowledge first of all that their system is sound, up-to-date, and comprehensive from the standpoint of the present development of sociological theory. It is a rather happy blending of an obvious attempt to be modernistic and not miss even the most recent developments with a considerable amount of cautioness. But as indicated earlier, the authors' own introductions are too short, too abrupt and written in too technical a language to get a beginner elated or attracted by the subject matter. Many of the "Basic Concepts and Problems" sound like entries in an encyclopedia rather than sections in an introductory text.

Very much the same can be said about the selected readings. They are decidedly too difficult. The fact that the book starts with a lengthy passage from Max Weber is in a way symbolic and indicative of the decidedly sophisticated level of most of the selections. If, as the publishers claim, this text is being considerably used, this reviewer has no doubt that in order to be effective it requires well above the average amount of interpretation on the part of the instructor. To return once more to the comparison with Park and Burgess, the *Sociological Analysis* represents less of an original contribution to sociological theory than the older book did in its time. This one is more of a photograph of the present status quo than a step ahead in synthesis.

PETER P. LEJINS.
University of Maryland.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Brigham Young University. Last summer Reed Bradford was visiting professor at Michigan State University.

This summer Wilford Smith will return from Washington University where he has been doing advanced work toward the Ph.D. degree. Ray Canning will be given a leave of absence to continue his work toward the Ph.D. degree at the University of Utah.

The Department is completing work on a study comparing educational characteristics of rural and urban students who enter the University.

University of Illinois. E. H. Regnier is on leave getting his Doctor's degree in social recreation at Indiana University and will remain there until June 1, 1951.

Since returning from Sweden last spring, David E. Lindstrom has been engaged in teaching and research. C. L. Folse, assistant professor, also has this type of appointment and is engaged in research in population and on the community approach to soil conservation. James Runyon, student research assistant, has returned from Sweden where he spent a year studying the cooperative movement. Janice Backstrom is the Assistant in Extension.

Rural Sociology, a division of the department of Agricultural Economics, offers a masters degree in rural sociology and provides support for a Doctor's degree in Agricultural Economics or in Sociology and Anthropology. The Division of Rural Sociology has an integrated program of teaching, research and extension and emphasizes work in population, rural organization, and community study.

Kansas Wesleyan University. Haitung King joined the staff in September as an associate professor. He is devoting his time to expanding and reorganizing the curriculum in general sociology and rural life. Eight new advanced courses are being offered.

Michigan State College. The Social Research Service of Michigan State College has been awarded a grant-in-aid of $14,985 by the National Institute of Mental Health of the U. S. Public Health Service for a mental health study. It is reported that this project differs from most mental health studies in that it will examine normal people in order to find out what it takes in human resources to make successful adjustments to modern living. The objective is to discover the sources of strength that ordinary, substantial citizens use to meet and overcome life's strains and stresses.

The research committee will include anthropologists, psychologists, social psychologists, and sociologists. The project is expected to continue into 1952. Charles R. Hoffer is now the acting director of the Social Research Service and will provide administrative leadership for the study.

Mississippi State College. A statewide conference on Community Development in Mississippi, attended by community leaders and agency representatives, was held at the college in February. D. W. Rivers, assistant professor in the department, was active in planning the conference as was the College Committee on Community Development of which Harold F. Kaufman is chairman. Frank Alexander of the TVA and E. J. Neiderfrank of the Federal Extension Office were two out-of-state sociologists participating in this meeting. All four of the sociologists named above had participated earlier in a workshop on Community Development in the South, held as a sectional meeting of the annual convention of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers at Memphis.

Harald A. Pedersen has recently prepared two reports on population changes in Mississippi based on the preliminary 1950

census releases. The one appeared in *Mississippi Farm Research*, a publication of the Experiment Station, and the other was circulated by the Mississippi Economic Council.

Robert E. Galloway, BAE Social Scientist located at the college, and Marion T. Loftin, assistant professor, will shortly have three manuscripts prepared on the project dealing with health practices of rural people in four representative Mississippi counties. Annette S. Boutwell, health educator, is also providing leadership for this project.

Harold Kaufman will serve as visiting professor of rural sociology at Garrett Institute during the first summer term of 1951. He will offer a course entitled, "The Town and Country Community in a Mass Society."

Oregon State College. Glenn A. Bakkum is on leave during the 1950-1951 college year. During the first semester Professor Bakkum is visiting professor in the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell University, employed in research and teaching. During the second semester he will be in Egypt where he will serve as Fulbright lecturer in rural sociology at the American University in Cairo. He expects to return to his duties at Oregon State College next September.

During Professor Bakkum's absence Robbert H. Dann, a professor in the department, is the acting head. Clara Louise Simerville (B.A., Willamette University; M.A., University of Oregon) is employed in the department for the school year 1950-1951.

Southern Illinois University. W. J. Tudor, Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of Research, has been granted leave of absence for the winter and spring quarters to permit him to teach at the University of Athens. He will also serve as an Advisor to the E.C.A. and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture on the establishment of an agricultural extension program.

University of Wisconsin. George W. Hill, Professor of Rural Sociology, is on leave for the spring semester and summer. He is serving as advisor on immigration and colonization policy to the Venezuelan government.

Margaret J. Hagood, of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, will be visiting Professor of Rural Sociology for the spring semester. She will offer a course and a seminar on rural population and will do research in this field. Robin M. Williams, of Cornell University, will be visiting Professor of Rural Sociology for the summer of 1951. He will offer courses in rural social trends and intergroup relations.

Wm. H. Sewell is now serving as Chairman of the Faculty Division of the Social Sciences.

PRIVATE RESEARCH ORGANIZATION

Carnegie Corporation. The Carnegie Corporation has announced two recent grants for social science work. The University of Oregon receives $20,000 for the training of college teachers in the social sciences. The University, under an earlier grant from the Corporation, initiated in 1949 a fellowship program designed to prepare college teachers in the social sciences. The Departments of Economics, History, Political Science, and Sociology are cooperating in this project which emphasizes broader social science training. The current grant will enable the University to continue this experiment for the next three years.

Harvard University receives $11,750 for a field research project on "The Role of the Entrepreneur in Brazilian Economic Development." The project will be sponsored jointly by the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University and the Institute for Brazilian Studies at Vanderbilt University.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

President's Commission on Migratory Labor. Robert C. Jones is making a study of the condition of Mexican workers in the U. S. The Commission sponsoring this study was created by executive order in June 1950.

CONFERENCES

Agricultural Economic and Rural Sociology Section, A.S.A.W. Convention

Sociologists provided leadership for two workshops held as sectional meetings during the annual convention of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers. The convention was held at Memphis, Tennessee, February 5-7. Frank Alexander of the TVA was chairman of the workshop on Community Development in the South. This workshop was attended by sociologists and community specialists from nine southern states. Among the participants were Ralph Ramsey, University of Kentucky, Eugene Wilkening of North Carolina State College, and Wayland J. Hayes of Vanderbilt University.

Homer L. Hitt of Louisiana State University was chairman of a workshop devoted to the consideration of "Population Research in the South at Mid-century." Among the sociologists participating in this workshop were Olen E. Leonard of Vanderbilt University, G. A. McMahan of the University of Georgia, and J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas.

Harold F. Kaufman of Mississippi State College served as chairman of the Agricultural Economic and Rural Sociology section of the A.S.A.W. during the past year.

Caribbean at Mid-Century. The conference on the "Caribbean at Mid-century" was held at the University of Florida at Gainesville on December 7-9, 1950. Lowry Nelson, professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Minnesota, and John Gillin, professor of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina were speakers on the session devoted to sociological and anthropological problems. Other sessions of the conference were devoted to agriculture, language and literature, politics and history, economic and geographical problems.

More than 300 persons attended the conference, 90 of them official delegates and 45 of them members of college faculties. Thirty universities in 19 states, 6 Latin American republics and Puerto Rico were represented at the conference. Plans are being made to have a similar conference next year.

The International Sociological Association. The Association has been requested by Unesco to make an "Inquiry into the Teaching of the Social Sciences" relevant to sociology and related subjects. The Association is actively working on the possibility of establishing regional social science institutes and is making plans for the carrying out of specific research projects. In addition, the Secretariat is engaged in the preparation of a World Survey of Sociology and in exploring the possibilities of a bibliographical review to be published jointly by organizations in Belgium, Norway and the United Kingdom.

Two preliminary reports have been prepared by the Secretariat in the proceedings of the Congress: (1) Report of Council and Executive Committee Meetings (ISA/Z/10); and (2) Report of Scientific Discussion Meetings (ISA/Z/11). All requests for documents and inquiries regarding the activities of the Association should be addressed to Mr. Erik Rinde, Executive Secretary, International Sociological Association, Grev Wedelspl. 4, Oslo, Norway.

Pan-American Union, Regional Seminar. The Pan-American Union held the second regional seminar in San Salvador, El Salvador, November 5-17, 1950. Principal fields considered were: (1) Cooperatives, (2) Housing and City Planning, (3) Social Work, (4) Worker Education.

SPECIAL REPORT

Thirty Years of Experience with Sociologists. As I leave the Office of Experiment Stations to return to my farm at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, I find that I have much in common in thought and outlook with the rural sociologists of the United States who are devoting themselves to a scientific study of rural life. I came near choosing rural sociology as my life work. When ready to try for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, I considered majoring in sociology. Being the director of an experiment station at a time when practically

every farmer and stockman was demanding that research be made to improve farm incomes and asserting that they knew how to live if they had enough to live on, I chose economics as the major and sociology as the minor at the University of Wisconsin.

When, on March 1, 1929, I came to the Office of Experiment Stations, Dr. E. W. Allen, the Chief, asked me to attend to the routine in rural sociology as well as agricultural economics until an experienced rural sociological research specialist might be employed. I have handled rural sociological research matters along with other duties for more than 21 years.

Now, may I make a few suggestions from the vantage point of my experience with the Office of Experiment Stations. My first point is that you have made remarkable headway over the past 25 years. This progress consists in a constantly increasing number of highly capable personnel doing a higher quality of research than ever before. My suggestions are: (1) In preparing your projects it is well to remember that research in agricultural institutions, being supported by public funds, is for the most part applied research, utilitarian in nature. (2) Popularize your basic research by pointing out its relation to progress in farming, the farm home and the farm community. (3) In dealing with the Office of Experiment Stations and the State stations, don't overlook the fact that the initiative is for the most part the function of the project leaders and directors of the State stations. (4) It is well to keep before you the fact that agricultural research in the United States has no supreme commander. (5) Perhaps it would serve agriculture and rural life better if your social findings were consumed by urban people as well as by farm people. Urban people should be well informed concerning the problems of rural life. (6) Make the work of your Committee of Fifteen a continuing responsibility. (7) Study the social implications of the research done by the physical and biological applications of science and help them contribute to social progress.

Let us hope and strive to see that the brief but eventful past of rural sociological research may prove to be a prologue to the day when rural sociological problems may be studied as freely as any other agricultural problem.

BONNEY YOUNGBLOOD.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
DECEMBER 30, 1950

Balance brought forward from Dec. 24, 1949		$1,983.28
Receipts:		
From dues and contributions (includes some 1951 memberships)	1,596.30	
Estes Park Conference refund	132.00	
Sale of *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 9, No. 3	.75	
From *Rural Sociology* for		
a. $10—10 members who were direct subscribers		
b. $ 4— 8 members who subscribed through American Sociological Society		
c. $94—Sale of back issues of *Rural Sociology*	108.00	
Total balance and receipts		$3,820.33
Expenditures:		
Rural Sociology (422 @ $2.50, 85 @ $2.00; library subscriptions $10.50; one issue *Rural Sociology* $.75; foreign postage $2.00)	$1,238.25	
200 copies of 1949 program	8.96	
2,000 stamped and printed envelopes	71.74	
500 letterheads	10.66	
1,000 envelopes for Dr. C. H. Hamilton	12.00	
Sending personal data sheets to Dr. C. E. Lively	1.15	
500 folders on Estes Park meeting	15.80	
Deposit on 1950 Conference at Estes Park	135.00	
Printing programs for 1950 Conference at Estes Park	16.53	
North Carolina State College Print Shop—300 programs	8.54	
Dr. Bruce Melvin, expenses as representative at International Sociological Association, Zurich	15.00	
Farm Bureau Mutual Fire Ins. Co.—premium for 3 years insurance on journals stored at North Carolina State College	6.60	
1,500 membership cards for 1951	11.17	
Telegraph service	8.05	
The Graphic Press—preparation of copy of Youngblood Resolution	7.50	
International Sociological Society—1950 dues	20.00	
Record book	2.55	
Mimeographing, supplies, labor	28.46	
Total expenditures		$1,617.96
Balance December 30, 1950		$2,202.37

RANDALL C. HILL
Secretary-Treasurer

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY JOURNAL 1950

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, January 1, 1950	$3,088.56
From Rural Sociological Society on 1950 Business	1,238.25
General Subscriptions and Sales	2,861.32*
Reprint Sales to Authors	379.20
Sales of Back Numbers for the Society	117.50
Advertising	76.58
Subsidy from N. C. State College	250.00
Total Income	$8,011.41

EXPENDITURES

Printing JOURNAL (including $250 from College)	$2,831.78
Reprints	402.21
Postage and other Communication	272.00
Travel	305.91
Supplies and Equipment	120.93
Refunds	6.00
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Educational Press Association Membership	10.00
Copyright	16.00
Notary Public Seal and Stamp for Secretary	12.50
Purchase of One Copy of Vol. 7, No. 1	1.00
To Society for Sale of Back Issues	94.00
To Society for Partial Payment of Membership Dues	14.00
Total Expenditures	$4,092.35

Total Income	$8,011.41
Total Expenditures	4,092.35
Cash on Hand, Dec. 31, 1950	$3,919.06

* Includes $1,087.43 advance sales.

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Lowry Nelson
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Department of Agricultural Economics

University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

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